FIFTY CENTS

SEPTEMBER 27, 1971



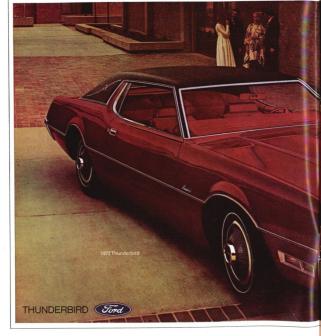
THE BITTER LESSONS OF ATTICA





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And when it comes to Thunderbird options, the sky is, literally, the limit. You can order your Bird with a glamorous power sunroof. Or the extra security of our Sure-Track brake-control system, with

brake release.

its computerized sensors that detect a skid before you do and gently, automatically, brake it back into control.

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more car. Better idea for safety: Buckle up!



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Regular 12 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, Menthol 13 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report, Nov.'70.

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Have you ever thought of buying a storeo system from JCPenney? Probably not, Like a



lot of people, chances are you didn't even know JCPenney sold stereos until right now.

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We had to put swivel speakers in our 149,95 stereo system. An AFC switch on the FM radio. And a separate turntable unit that will fit right on top of the amplifier. And a headphone jack and a dustcover, too.

We had to make our model 1311 sound better than all those other stereos you have heard about.

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the way you want it.
You even get a special
circuit that tunes in only stereo
broadcasts if you're not in the
mood for monaural. And an AFC
switch that locks in on a
station's signal, so there's no
annoying drift or distortion.

The BSR mini-turntable also has a lot of things going for it. 4 speeds. An adjustable-weight tone arm. An automatic record-size finder. And a 45rpm adapter that's included with the system.

We had to give you a very flexible system, too. So you could arrange the components all over a room. Or stack them together if there's not much space. We even give

you a choice of color: a sleek walnut veneer or a striking white.

We made this system source to the control of the co

There's one thing about us you probably have heard. JCPenney reliable service and product quality. That's a tradition of ours that covers everything we sell.

One other thing worth hearing about: you can pay for your stereo with our Time Payment Plan. How many other systems offer you that?

systems offer you that?

Now that you've heard of us, why not come in and give us a fair hearing. Judge for yourself how much better we sound.

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WHEN NOBODY'S EVER HEARD OF YOU, You'd better sound better.





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...instead of calling person-to-person or having the operator place the call station-to-station:

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	to- Person	Operator- Assisted	Dial-it- Yourself
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Washington, D.C. to Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.35	.85	.75
Los Angeles, Calif. to Phoenix, Ariz.	1.90	1.25	.95
Kansas City, Mo. to Dallas, Tex.	2.15	1.35	1.00
New York, N.Y. to Chicago, III.	2.40	1.45	1.05
San Francisco, Calif. to Philadelphia, Pa.	3.55	1.85	1.35

eRates referred to in the columns on the left are for three-minute calls, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday. Dial-it-yourself rates apply on all interstate dialed calls (without operator assistance) from business or residence phones anywhere in the continental U.S. (except Alaska) and on calls placed with an operator where direct-dialing facilities are not available. Dial-direct rates do not apply to person-to-person, coin, hotel guest, credit card, and collect calls, and on calls charged to another number. All rates plus tax.



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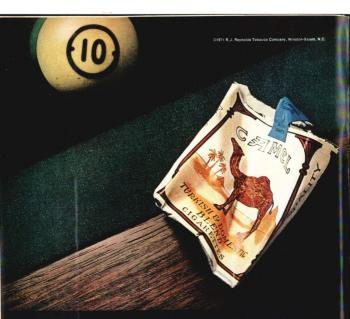
such as high strength bolt assemblies ... structural steel tubing ... economical steel forms for poured concrete slabs, that stay in place and add the strength of steel to structures ... EMT the lightweight steel electrical raceway ... high strength steel sheet and plate ... sturdy steel doors, roofing, siding, and pioe.

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Kenneth Clark. (Pub. edition, \$15.00) 397. THE THRONE OF SATURN Allen Drum (Pub. edition, \$7.95) 359. INSIDE THE

ing, write The Literary Guild of America, Inc. Dept. 19-TZX, Garden City, N.Y. 11530

LETTERS

George Jackson and Political Prisoners

Your Essay on political prisoners [Sept. 6] sadly represents the compromising logic of American liberalism. By asserting that George Jackson's \$70 robbery "scarce ly warranted an eleven-year sentence" and that court "reform has proved to be a re-gression in many cases," you seem to be clearly aware of the inequities facing black political transgressors. Unfortunately, you are willing to prolong these inequities rather than risk a rapid overhaul of their source -America's outdated political and economic systems.

MAGGIE CONWAY Cleveland

Sir: In the hue and cry following George Jackson's demise at San Quentin, one slight bit of evidence is being overlooked by the

bleeding hearts. If Jackson's escape attempt was a hoax set up by prison authorities so they could murder him, what about the other five dead people? Did authorities kill the three guards and two prisoners to add authen-ticity to the hoax? Or did the five men sac-rifice themselves in order to help "get

Jackson' I say congratulations to the guard who killed Jackson with one shot through the head. Give him a big salary increase and a howitzer to aid him in aborting future

prison breaks.

GEORGE G. HOUSER Nichols NY

Sir: Any penal system in which "au-thorities" are able to confine a man for as long as they desire, or until he is "re-habilitated," has got to be a poor one indeed. Certainly political prisoners exist in this country today. The authorities do not consider you sufficiently rehabilitated until you have lost all traces of any mil litancy you once possessed. It reminds me, frighteningly, of George Orwell's 1984. DAVID SKINNER Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Sir: Your comment that "Even though he was a three-time loser. Jackson went to prison for a minor criminal offense. which scarcely warranted an eleven-year sentence," is a gross error which cannot

It equates the seriousness of the crime with the profit it yields to the criminal. Armed robbery is a serious felony whether the robber nets \$1 or a million dollars. The Panthers and their parrot-minded white liberal-running dogs should not feel they have lost an irreplaceable hero with Jackson's death

The prisons and streets of our country are full of replacements adequate in every respect, from snub-nose revolvers to a pseudo-political doctrine, to exculpate their licentiousness and shift the blame to where it does not belong.

JEROME G. QUINN Rochester, Mich.

Sir: Whether convicts are political prisoners or not, a parallel can be drawn between the lives of George Jackson and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Jackson was certainly the victim in life, and quite possibly in his death. of "superiors" who hated and feared his ideology, as Solzhenitsyn is a victim of Soviet bigwigs who fear, or suspect, the power of his pen. Both were subjected unjustly to long, dehumanizing years in prison systems that try to destroy those who won't conform. Solzhenitsyn has survived, so far. Jackson did not but his letters show that his death was a waste

CAROL GOODRIDGE Rockport, Me.

Nixon and the Unions

If anything, "Tricky Dick's" freeze saved labor's skin. Our greatest discovery for disciplining unions and fighting in-flation has been foreign labor. Aggressive labor unions have been permitted to erode the domestic dollar and therefore wipe

out millions of pension dollars. Millions of consumers have learned that if it isn't foreign made, they can't afford it. The freeze may be too late.

MORRIS W. LIPTON Columbia, S.C.

Sir: Fie on Woodcock, Bridges and Meany, who have adopted the policy "What's yours is mine and what's mine is mine." The rank-and-file wage-earning pub lic sees the wisdom of the President's ef-forts, even if labor leaders don't.

LARRY RIJNOVAN Hampton, Va

Sir: The louder Czar Meany bellows, the more I work for President Nixon. A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders may think that they own 13 million workers, but they do not own 13 million jobs.

JOHN R. KILGORE

Sir: Ours is a delicate and complex economy, and no elastic such as this freeze can cure its ills

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Complex problems require patient, assid-uously studied, carefully planned solutions —not half-baked, overnight panaceas coupled with gaudy euphemisms

THOMAS J. BACCALA Imperial Beach, Calif.

The Sound of Heaven

The Beach Boys' soft, euphonious music, "intended to evoke the rhythm of the ocean," is as Brian Wilson describes it: "the sound of heaven" [Sept. 6]. I'm surprised you did not go on to explain that in meditation one is thought to hear the "sound of the universe." Roughly, the sound is "Oommm" and is best equated to the sound of the ocean. If a person were willing to listen care-

fully, he would then discover that all things have as their first component these This does not seem so outlandish or abstract when one stops to consider that to

the physicists the universe is made up of waves, relative to one another in accord waves, relative to with universal harmony. GARY M. KEENE

Las Vegas

Sir: It's hard for me as a 26-year-old black American to applaud Brian Wilson's reluctance to write about social causes because nobody gives a damn about them. If everybody gave a damn, there would be no need to write about social causes.

But as a black American, who is prob-ably Black Beach Boy Fan No. 1. I close my eyes to their shoddy politics and simply groove on the music Half a genius is better than no genius

> ALAN BELL New York City

Faking It

Sir: Regarding the "Fakes of Hacilar" [Sept. 6]. Would it not defeat the new method of age testing (thermoluminescence) if a cence) if a forger were to grind up known aged fragments, thus incorporating them into a "new" forgery that would react very much the same to tests as the genuine article? VICTOR D. RYERSON

No. In refiring the new vase or pot the heat would destroy the thermolumines-cence that had accumulated through the years in the aged fragments.

In the Name of Jen

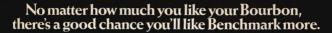
Sir: News that a Christian group is an-ticipating the "opening up" of China [Sept. 6] is encouraging. Christianity, however, is an underground religion in China to day. Those intent on going to mainland China in the future to disseminate Christian thought had better do it in the name of jen (humanheartedness), not with the idea of "carrying the Word to the hea-

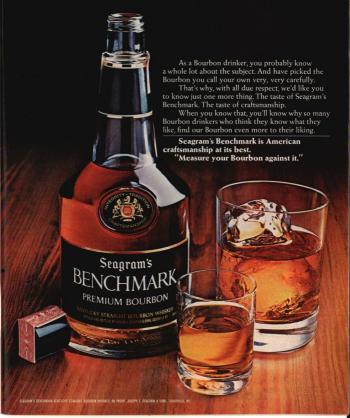
Respect is due the other beautiful religions that exist in China. Those going must develop a new kerygma, one based on a thorough understanding of what mainland China is all about.

JOSEPH NEUSSENDORFER Prisoner Minnesota State Prison

Sir: Please keep out the God Squads from China should Peking allow the barriers to drop. Missionary groups have caused

Stillwater, Minn.







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more trouble throughout history than any other movement ever recorded. Don't yell blasphemy!

Learn from the errors and search for the intent of Jesus.

JOSEPH SHANDOR Harrisburg, Pa.

Sir: Why is it so hard for you to understand the impetus behind Christians wanting to tell the 'good news' to heaward to the control of t

Mrs. Delbert Anderson Greeley, Colo.

Unearthly

Sir: You state that the moon's mountains have been softened by billions of years of erosion [Aug. 23]. Erosion by what I wonder? Torrential rains and blistering sand-

> KONRAD WESTERHOF Bramalea Ont

▶ Erosion on the moon is caused by large and small meteorites, solar wind and cosmic particles.

Best of Health

Sir: Your article on the Federal Building in Buffalo [Aug. 30] may be factual in part, but trying to read sinister meanings into the notice tacked on to the bulletin board by the "job coordinator" borders on the ridiculous.

Word for word, the same notice passed around several offices in the New York State Assembly two years ago. It even ended with the words "Best of Health,"

which you characterize as "an example of Mafia morbidity." You fellows are so serious about things that you cannot distinguish between hu-

> S. WILLIAM ROSENBERG Assemblyman

Ink Blot

Sir: Few of us, crew-cut or otherwise, would have guessed that during the wondrous decade of the '50s, the response to a single ink blot could be used as the standard by which to gain value judgment of this or any other period [Sept. 6]. Fur-

Time Ire, also publishes Latz, Fastvax, Serva Latzanacza and in ecolopicion with its onlike Latzanacza and in ecolopicion with its onlike Chairman of the Board, Andrew Briskell, York Plantace Committee, Roy L. Latzers, Berthelle, Victoria, Fastrane Committee, Roy L. Latzers, Berthelle, Victoria, Committee, James A. Loues, December Wood, Andrew K. A. Loues, December Wood, Andrew K. A. Loues, December Wood, Andrew K. Latzers, Power and West Committee, James A. Loues, December Wood, Andrew K. Latzers, West Latzers, Marchael M. Marchael M. Latzers, M. Berthell, M. Latzers, Latzers, L. Latzers, L. Latzers, M. Latzers, Mancher, C. Glober Matthian, P. Roberts, Marchael Mancher, C. Glober Matthian, P. Roberts, Marchael Mancher, C. Glober Matthian, P. Roberts, Marchael Mancher, C. Glober Matthian, M. Roberts, M. Adadast Thornton, J. L. Latzers, M. M. Machael, Adadast Thornton, M. R. McKonsky, Adadast Thornton, M. R. McKonsky, Adadast J. John, J. Latzers, M. M. M. Latzers, M. Adadast Thornton, M. R. McKonsky, Adadast J. L. Connectuler, David D. D. Kaltzer, Adadast J. L. Connectuler, David D. D. Kaltzer, Adadast L. R. Bildog, M. Machael, A. Welling, M. B. L. Bildog, M. Latzers, M. L. Latzers, M. L. L. thermore, probably only Psychologist Fred Brown would have discovered that a 51% "female" response indicates a breakdown in sex-role differentiation, whereas a 51% "male" response does not.

DONALD D. McDonald New Orleans

Sir: Fred Brown's assuming that a unisex society is sick and immature is a result of a pervasive fear of women and everything feminine, and should itself be closely examined by the psychologists. No wonder we feminists are angry.

Ms. GAYLE CRAWFORD Shaker Heights, Ohio

Pasture Oak

Sir: Surely TIME ought to know that it's no great shakes to have "discovered" that wind-buffeled trees have stouter trunks (and stronger limbs) than the skinny, cramped and sheltered trees in the middle of the woods [Sent, 6].

Environmental horticulturists would do well to read Captain Slocum's Sailing Alone Around the World and discover that "better timber for a ship than a pasture white oak never grew."

A New England pasture oak stands soli-

A New England pasture oak stands solitary, alone, unprotected by any other tree from line squalls, Atlantic hurricanes, or breezes from any compass direction whatsoever. On quiet mornings it stands still while scientists shake.

GELSTON HARDY Princeton, N.J.

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A letter from the PUBLISHER

Herry Luce au

TROUBLED by the worsening crisis in the U.S. penal system, we sent correspondents to visit penitentiaries across the country nine months ago. Our Jan. 18 cover story reported the sense of desperation in many prisons, but also noted certain hopeful signs of beginning improvement. Last week, as anxiety turned to bloodshed at Attica, members of nine of our domestic bureaus re-examined U.S. prisons for a new cover story on one of the nation's most gnawing failures. The promise of last winter had not been fulfilled quickly enough.

TIME's Nation section this week attempts to answer a number of questions: precisely what happened at Attica and why, what the alternatives were for the inmates and the

authorities, and what Attica will mean for the future of prison reform. Our coverage was supervised by New York Bureau Chief Frank McCulloch, and the reporting from Attica was done by a trio of correspondents. James Willwerth went to the prison when the uprising started. Having covered the Newark riots. been gassed at the 1968 Chicago disorders and spent a year in South Viet Nam and Cambodia, Willwerth is hardly a stranger to violence. He saw the assault on Attica as "a classic tragedy. Those of us waiting outside finally realized that it would end only with the counting of the dead." Willwerth was joined by Mary Cronin and Leonard what had happened behind the walls and how the townspeople of Attica viewed the



COVER OF JAN. 18 ISSUE

conflict. Levitt, an experienced police reporter, obtained a private interview with Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald. Roger Williams, assigned to analyze the political impact of Attica, obtained a special interview with Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Joseph Boyce, a policeman turned journalist, assayed the mood in New York City's black neighborhoods, home to many of the Attica inmates.

A powerful ingredient of our report on Attica, we feel, are the pictures, both color and black-and-white. They were obtained by Picture Editor John Durniak and his staff. Before selecting the photographs that appear in this week's issue, they pored over thousands of negatives-including color shots of the carnage taken inside the walls of Attica,

The Cover: Design by Dennis Wheeler

with photographs by A.P. (top), Buffalo Evening News-TIME (center), and WGR-TV News, Buffalo (bottom left).

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Blue Cross: An American Phenomenon.

How an idea as unselfish as the volunteer fire department gave birth to a health care plan for 74 million Americans.

Most people realize that only by unselfishly protecting others can they really hope to protect themselves.

That's why men have always been willing to give of themselves to man volunteer fire departments.

And that's why Blue Cross has been able to grow into the world's largest volunteer health care plan.

We got our start because people needed us. It was 1929. Money was tough to come by. Many people who needed hospital care found they couldn't afford to pay for it. Many hospitals faced closing their doors to the community for lack of



funds. And healthy people were worried over what could happen if illness struck.

The solution came from a man in Texas named Justin Ford Kimball. He convinced a group of Dallas school teachers to band together for common protection. Under his plan, each teacher would voluntarily contribute to a common fund. In return, each would be guaranteed 21 days of prepaid hospitalization at Baylor University Hospital.

That first Blue Cross plan accomplished two things. It let the teachers breathe easier. And it helped the hospital continue serving the entire community because some form of income was assured. The plan worked. It worked so well, in fact, that others took up the idea. And other plans began to spring up around the country. Community leaders willingly gave of their time and efforts to organize volunteer boards so their own people could have the same kind of prepaid health care protection.

Today there are 75 Blue Cross plans in America. Each came about from a voluntary gathering together. Each raised its own funds, put local citizens on its board who knew local problems.

Together these Blue Cross Plans serve over 94 million Americans: 74 million as members. And 20 million more through government programs which Blue Cross helps administer.

Blue Cross is an uniquely American idea. We have no stockholders. No profit to make. Blue Cross doesn't cancel coverage because of poor health. We're there when you need us most.

An average of almost 95% out of every dollar we take in is returned to our members in health care benefits. Efficient management keeps our average operating expenses at less than 6%.

Blue Cross started out as a way for people with a common interest to get together to help pay each other's health care bills. And that's what we're still doing. For more than one out of every three Americans.

We've made a lot of improvements in Blue Cross over the years. An interstate "Bank," for example, that makes your Blue Cross coverage good anywhere in the country. More outpatient benefits for our

members to ease the demand for hospital beds. In fact, today, Blue Cross is paying more claims for outpatient services than we are for hospital admissions.

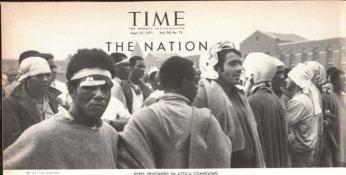
And we're going to make more improvements as we shoulder even more social responsibilities for the health care of the nation.

But one thing will never change. You'll always be able to enter almost any hospital anywhere in America just by saying, "Here's my Blue Cross card."

That's what you really created us for. And we never forget it.

Blue Cross

74 million Americans strong. And growing stronger.



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Libel?

AMERICAN NOTES

Reason Is the Victim

Perhaps no other incident better symbolizes the division of American thought and feeling about the Attica tragedy than a dedication ceremony held last week for Georgetown University's new law center, a few blocks from the Supreme Court building. The guest speaker was Chief Justice Warren E. Burger. Preceding him, Alfred F. Ross, president of Georgetown's student bar association. reflected the somber mood of Burger's audience by making an impassioned reference to the prison riot and its aftermath. "What happened at Attica," he said, "was not merely a senseless and brutal massacre of men whose lives had already been unspeakably mutilated and wasted. What we witnessed was but the latest and least equivocal manifestation, for all the world to see with horror, that what we call our system of criminal justice has broken down completely: that in the name of justice, inhumanity and injustice permeate the treatment of those convicted of crime.

Burger rose impassively to deliver a sober and reflective speech. Where Ross had spoken of "human beings" locked in prisons, the Chief Justice-without specific reference to Attica-described convicts as the "delinquents and misfits" of society. He cautioned the students that law was not the path to social reform, although he admitted to being intrigued by the "alluring prospect that our world can be changed in the courts" rather than by legislators. It was a moderate enough speech by a man who cares deeply about prison reform, but the students were not in a frame of mind for moderation. Many of them walked out to listen to Radical Attorney William Kunstler in a street counterceremony.

A thoroughly political man, Richard Nixon last week serized upon Senator Edmund Muskie's amazingly candid remark (TIME, Sept. 20) that he would not favor a black as his running mate in 1972. Muskie reasoned it might keep him from winning and thus from fighting for racial justice as only a Pres-

ident can.

The President, after telling reporters he would not discuss politics, proceeded to say that it was "a libel on the American people" to presume that they would not accept a black vice-presidential nominee. The President's reproachful tone suggested the improbable-that he would be happy to have a black for a running mate. He also noted that similar views were once uttered about Roman Catholics and proven baseless by John Kennedy. Nixon said that it was "very important for those of us in positions of leadership not to tell a large number of people in America, whoever they are, that because of the accident of their birth they don't have a chance to go to the top.

To which Honest Ed Muskie's reply would have to be: "Touché."

Showdown at Lake Powell

The Indian has taken an economic beating at the hands of the white man since that guileless tribe gave up Manhattan for \$24 in trinkers. Now a band of enterprising Navajos in Arrizona hopes to Indian-wrestle some of their ancestors' money back. The group plans to build a \$10 million resort on the shores of Lake Powell featuring a full-scale gambling casino. The should be also the properties of the control of the short of the control of the short of the control of the short of the

War at Attica:

"If we cannot live as people, we will at least try to die like men."
—Attica Prisoner Charles Horatio Crowley ("Brother Flip")

AT 9-44 on a drizzly overcast morning last week, a radio loudspeaker snapped out the order to attack. Through the stinging mist of CS pepper gas dropped by Viet Nam-style helicopters, yellow-clad troopers set off a barrage of rifle fire from atop 30-ft. prison walls. More than 500 officers—armed with shotguns, rifles, pistols and cultis shotguns, rifles, pistols and cultis shotguns, rifles, pistols and cultis shotguns are proposed from the proposed fire from the proposed for nearly an hour. When the one-sided battle was over, lawmen representing the State of New York had killed 26 convicts and nine of 38 hos-

STATE TROOPERS OUTSIDE PRISON





INMATE SECURITY GUARDS LOCK ARMS TO PROTECT VISITORS FROM HARM

Was There No Other Way?

tages that the inmates had seized in the four-day prison riot. At least 83 prisoners were hurt seriously enough to require surgery.

That was Attica. For some time to come in the U.S., that word will not be primarily identified with the plain upon which ancient Athens nurtured philosophy and democracy. Nor will it simply stand for the bucolic little town that gave its name to a turreted prison, mislabeled a "correctional facility." Attica will evoke the bloodiest prison rebellion in U.S. history. It will take its place alongside Kent State, Jackson State. My Lai and other traumatic events that have shaken the American conscience and incited searing controversy over the application of force-and the pressures that provoke it.

SHORTLY BEFORE THE ASSAULT



With the riot and its aftermath still shrouded by secrecy, rumor, half-truths and untruths, the nation was sorely split in trying to decide just why it happened and who was to blame. Since most of Attica's prisoners are black, many blacks saw the event as yet another manifestation of America's deep-rooted racism. Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson termed it "one of the most callous and blatantly repressive acts ever carried out by a supposedly civilized society." White liberals and not liberals alone-interpreted Attica as, at the very least, a measure of the bankruptcy of the U.S. prison system. Yet many if not most Americans seemed to feel that the attack was legally and morally justified. The Atlanta Constitution, in a singularly savage editorial. suggested execution of "the animals of Attica" for trying to impose "kangaroo justice" on the hostages.

New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who had approved subordinates' decision to storm the prison, was defended by President Nixon, who said that the "painful, excruciating" action was "the only thing he could possibly do . . ." At the same time, Rockefeller was also widely denounced for needlessly risking lives by using so much firepower, and derided for initially being too soft on the prisoners.

The violence at Attica sent tremors throughout U.S. prisons. The FBI warned many institutions to prepare for similar uprisings, and security was increased. But there were surprisingly few incidents. One uprising took place at Baltimore city jail, where some 200 prisoners (nearly all were unconvicted blacks awaiting trial) rioted in the mess hall, overturning tables and smashing 120

windowpanes. Eight guards fled to safety, and officers armed with tear gas promptly restored order. There were also protests from police and prison guards. At New York's Green Haven Correctional Facility, 390 guards demanded assurance that the state would move swiftly to quell any similar rebellion at their prison-even if they were held as hostages and their own lives were threatened.

The convulsion of conflicting values and emotions put in question the future of a penal system that most responsible authorities consider a dismal failure (see story, page 26). Many officials, including President Nixon, hoped that the tragedy would give a sorely needed impetus to prison reform. Others worried about the danger of a new rush toward repression that would make prisons even more inhumane.

Volatile Incident

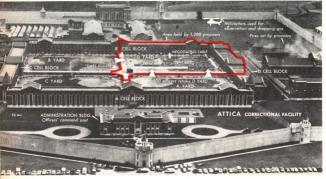
The eventual course will depend upon how the events at Attica are understood and evaluated. The precise origin of the uprising is still not clear; what is obvious is that the prisoners have long had so many grievances that a volatile incident could have touched off a rebellion at almost any time. Attica houses some of the state's most hardened criminals. But it is also an admission facility for new convicts, who are convinced that their lesser crimes do not warrant the prison's harsh treatment. At the time of the uprising, at least 75% of the 2,250 prisoners were black or Puerto Rican, All of the 383 guards -too few for that number of inmates, in the opinion of most experts-were white. Blacks resented the racism shown by guards, who gave easier prison jobs to white inmates and openly referred to their clubs as "nigger sticks.

The convicts also complained about

the stern discipline of Superintendent Vincent Mancusi, an unimaginative, oldschool warden who seldom spoke to his prisoners and apparently resented the heat he was getting from his superiors, mainly Oswald, to loosen his reins. This pressure was also resented by veteran guards, mostly country folk from upstate New York, who felt that they were losing control over the prison population. In particular, they found it hard to cope with the new breed of hip, street-wise young criminals from the ghettos of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, who spouted revolutionary rhetoric. Almost the only communication between kept and keeper was the and held secret political meetings when pretending to be at chapel or engaged in intramural athletics. They passed around clandestine writings of their own; among them was a poem written by an unknown prisoner, crude but touching in its would-be heroic style (see cut for the first stanta)

Many of the demands that emerged in the Attica rebellion were first raised in July in a tough "manifesto" sent to Oswald and Rockefeller by a group of inmates called "the Attica Liberation Faction." The paper labeled Attica a "classic institution of authoritative inhumanity upon men." but added: "We are trying to do this in a democratic fash-

Whatever the reason, violence did erupt on the morning of Sept. 9 at about 8:30, when a group of inmates refused to line up at the rap of guards' clubs for a work detail. Suddenly the guards, armed only with their clubs, were fighting with inmates-and were completely outnumbered. At the time well under 100 guards were on duty in the 55-acre compound to supervise the 2.250 prisoners. Moving swiftly, the convicts rushed through three of the quadrangular cell blocks (see cut) and set fires in six buildings. The chapel, prison school and machine shop were completely gutted. Quickly producing knives. pipes, baseball bats and makeshift spears



banging of clubs against prison walls, signaling orders to line up or move.

Former immates of Attica contend that solitary confinement was frequently imposed for minor infractions, and that beatings in the elevator en route to "the box" were common. The box is conveniently located over the prison hospital. Immates are allowed only one shower a week, even though many work (for as life the as 25 fe a day) in the metal shopt, known as "the black hole of Calcut," where temperatures when the present the present the solitary of the present the solitary and one relief to foliet paper is the maximum monthly allotment. There is little useful vocational training.

At Attica, protests against such conditions have been simmering for some time. Many of the self-styled revolutionaries—transferred to Attica from other prisons because of their militancy—smuggled banned books by such writers as Malcolm X and Bobby Seale into their cells,

ion. We feel there is no need to dramatize our demands."

But what, more immediately, sparked the riot? It could have been the rumor of brutality that swept the prison on Sept. 8, after a young guard reportedly tackled an inmate who refused to leave his cell for a disciplinary hearing on charges of punching another guard. Or it could have been a mess-hall incident the same day in which two prisoners threw a piece of glass at a guard and, after the ensuing scuffle, were sent to the box: both claimed they had been beaten. Some prison officials are convinced that the revolt was planned; they found the date Sept. 9 "circled big" on calendars in some cells.

If we must also let it not be the hops, housed and gammed in an inglocious spot, while governd us, back themad and hongey alogs, making there much at we received by.

fashioned from scissor blades and broom handles, the inmates captured guards and civilian employees for hostages.

Using tear gas, the undermanned prison staff regained control of cell blocks B and C, confining about half the prisoners in their cells for the long ordeal. But some 1,200 immates were in control of cell block D and the yard it faces. Locking gates and even welding the properties of the properties o

In the revolt, one guard, William Quinn, 28, was severely injured; some observers said that they saw his body fall from an upper floor. The first day, con-

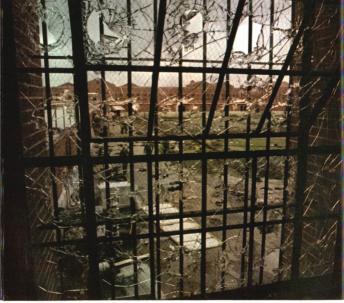
victs released Quinn and 11 other guards and civilians so that they could get medical help. After being stripped, the remaining guards were given inmate clothing, blankets and even mattresses (which convicts in the rain-soaked yard did not



Blindfolded Attica hostages in cell block D two days before attack on compound.







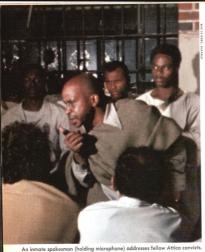


Rebels' trench in courtyard. In background, tent city, where negotiations failed



Prisoners wounded during the assault lie on stretchers, awaiting medical help.

Bullet-shattered window overlooking the battleground just after the siege.





An inmate spokesman (holding microphone) addresses fellow Attica convicts. Medical aide leaves prison after helping wounded. National Guardsmen and correction officers surround stripped prisoner (with hands on head) after recapture of Attica compound.



have) to sleep on. Guard Phillip Watkins, 33, said that convicts at first kicked him and broke his arm. But another prisoner called them off. Later he was addressed as the property of the state of the treat his arm. What he found particularly terrifying was not the convicts threats, but the fact that he, like most of the hostages, was blindfolded much of the time. Every sound, even the drop of a pin.

State Corrections Commissioner Russell G. Oswald, a chursly, carriest man who, before moving to New York, as a top partied efficient, or moder-thing Wisconsin's prisons, rushed to Attica from his Albary office. He arrived on the scene at about 2 p.m. On the job only speech to limates only a week earlier, asking for more time to improve conditions. Among other things, he promised "meaningful rehabilitative methods, eveting vesational programs, better law

Bizarre Transport

Now Oswald decided to talk to the prisoners in person. Although that tactic was later to be criticized, his personal courage could not be. While police sharpshooters kept watch from prison walls, Oswald and Herman Schwartz, a reform-minded attorney trusted by the convict leaders, walked into the midst of the rebels. The prisoners had created an extremely efficient paramilitary organization. The leaders had commandeered a megaphone, and they dictated a list of demands, which had been neatly typed by inmates seated at a long bench. The hostages were encircled and carefully guarded-both against escape and from any harm by more hostile inmates-by a ring of grim convicts, standing with arms interlocked. Some wore football helmets; others were masked by towels and rags

Initially, Oswald intended to discuss the men's giravances only after the hostages were released—a cardinal rule of most prison officials. He did demand their release, but he also listened to the most prison officials. He did demand their release, but he also listened to the most prison of the p

Although that demand was subsequently seized upon by state officials as an example of the prisoners' dangerous radicalism, it was soon abandoned by the rebel leaders when other immates pointed out how hopeless it was. Throughout the uprising, in fact, the immates never quite lived up to their fierce rhetoric, although their threats to kill the hostages sounded

Two Men From Cell Block D

THEY had rebelled, the men of cell block D told prison officials and negotiators, to protest their anonymity, to rail against their status as faceless numbers. During the Attica uprising, a few of them fleetingly achieved that goal when they appeared on TV screens. Two of their stories:

HERBET X. BYDEN. He is a big man, broad-shouldered, hard features, ugly scars on his cheek and neck from a prismost production of the state of the s

Blyden, 34, was born in the Virgin Islands; he moved to New York; at the age of 16. At 20, he was convicted, along with his younger brother; of robfor the theft, he spent five years in EL mira State Reformatory. In 1965, four years after his release, Blyden was convicted, on somewhat uncertain testimovicted, on somewhat uncertain testimovicted, more than the was not guilty. After he was sentenced to a 15to 20-year term, he began studying law or order to prepain gist

In the fall of 1970, Blyden was transferred from Attica to the Tombs, Manhattan's Men's House of Detention, to await a hearing on one of his appeals. In October, the Tombs exploded into a riot; Blyden was indicted as one of the leaders of the rebellion and was returned to Attica after the revolt collapsed.

It was Blyden who read off the list of prisoners' demands to the outside mediators at the meetings in cell block D. Ironically, the day that the rebels first met with the negotiators, a letter from Blyden to one of them, State Senator

HERBERT X. BLYDEN





RICHARD CLARK

John Dunne, was floating unread through the mails. It contained a restrained appeal for an official inspection tour of Attica. "We have been trying to apprise the public and the news media of conditions for some time, to no avail. Your assistance in these most serious matters is urgently needed."

RICHARD CLARK. There seem to be two Richard Clarks. One of them is known to Attica as "Brother Richard," the Black. Muslim who spoke passionately about revolution when he addressed his feltlow innates in cell block. D and with the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the faced prison officials over the negotiating table. The other Richard Clark, to the best of his family's knowledge, is no revtoutionary but a quet, anniable "homebody" who liked to halt neighbors on the properties of the properties of the faced prison.

Clark's parents gave him up to a New York City children's home before he was two years old. He spent his childhood in foster homes in Oucens and The Bronx, Tall and athletic, Clark was on the track team in high school. He joined the Navy after his senior year, served three years, and was honorably discharged. After leaving the Navy, he began taking drugs. Arrests followed quickly. In March 1969 he was accused of holding up a store with two other men; while out on bail, he robbed a Bronx storekeeper of three men's shirts. He pleaded guilty to petty larceny. Last October Clark was transferred to Attica from a medium-security prison because authorities said that he had been advocating "the violent overthrow of the institution.

His family sensed that Clark had begun to change during his years in prison. First, there were indications that is religious beliefs were changing, then letters complaining of the treatment in minds." The told his wife once on a visit. "That's what they treat us like here—animals." Still, his family finds it difficult to believe that he would risk becoming a leader of the riot. "Would it have made sense for him the violation" to come out in February."

credible enough. Underlying the bullying tone of their demands was an unmistakably genuine plea that even if they were convicted criminals, all they wanted was to be treated like human beings. "We are not beasts, and do not intend to be beaten or driven. What has happende here is but the sound before the fury of those oppressed."

Low Key Rockefeller

Oswald decided to negotiate. "My paramount concern was to save lives-hostages and inmates alike," he explained later. "We had to give the negotiations a chance." His first concession was to let into the compound a group of outsiders, chosen by the prisoners, to "oversee" the situation. They included New York Times Columnist Tom Wicker, Bronx Congressman Herman Badillo, Republican State Senator John R. Dunne and Clarence Jones, black publisher of Manhattan's Amsterdam News. But they also wanted Radical Lawyer William Kunstler and the Black Panthers' Bobby Seale. At one point there were as many as 30 mediators.

Governor Rockefeller was attending a Washington meeting of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board when aides telephoned him about the

FREED HOSTAGE BEING TREATED



Attica uprising. He quickly agreed to all of Oswald's moves. Rocky remained in Washington for the first two days of the rebellion, then spent the weekend at his Pocantico Hills estate north of New York City. He kept in touch, but played it low key.

On the first day of talks, Oswald made two other conciliatory moves that he hoped might gain release of the hostages. While insisting that he could not agree to amnesty for any criminal acts committed by the convicts, he signed a pledge that prison officials would take no administrative action against the rebels for their revolt and would not punish them physically (which is against state law anyway). He also supplied Attorney Schwartz with transportation to Manchester, Vt., where Federal Judge John T. Curtin put the prohibition against reprisals into the form of a highly unusual court injunction. The brief for the injunction was drafted by a prisoner who provided an odd element in the largely black cast of rebels: Jerome S. Rosenberg, 34, a slight, round-shouldered son of a middle-class Jewish Brooklyn merchant. After a career of lesser crimes, Rosenberg was convicted eight years ago as a cop killer. Governor Nelson Rockefeller commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment in 1965, giving Jerry Rosenberg a chance to become a skilled jailhouse lawyer.

As the bargaining continued, tensions grew. Oswald and Schwartz were bitterly disappointed when the inmates discarded the court injunction as worthless.

Apparently the rebels feared both phystical beatings by guards if they sturtreindered—despite the promises—and to
fif they released the hostages, they would
lose their bargaining power.

In talking with immates, most members of the committee of overseers gained the impression that a way out of the impasse could eventually be found. In fact, a settlement seemed imminent after Oswald surprised the visiting mediators by agreeing to 28 of the 30 prisoner

INMATES' MAKESHIFT HOSPITAL IN COMPOUND



Attica in

THE neat lines of American flags being flown in salute to the dead lent a cruelly false holiday air to the streets of Attica, N.Y. All was grimly silent. On Main Street, there was a long line of cars parked in front of the Marley Funeral Home. On the front porch, small knots of people somberly watched the steady stream of mourners pass in and out the front door or stared vacantly at the state police cars cruising the otherwise deserted streets. Seven of Attica's men were dead. All three public schools were closed, yet few young peo-ple were to be seen. There were no loiterers at the corner drugstore. Above a sign in a liquor store saying "I'm proud to be an American," hung another: "Sorry, closed today."

Attica mourned its dead amidst undercurrents of anger and fear. The prison —the community's largest employer

—the community largest employer—had suddenly become not a source of income but of anguish, he focus of cereath beyond under the properties of the community of

Attica (pop. 2,900) is in Wyoming County, in the heart of New York's productive farm belt, lush with acres of

demands. He balked only at complete amnesty, which he considered both unlawful and "nonnegotiable," and at the prisoners' insistence that Warden Mancusi be fired. Dumping Mancusi, Oswald contended, would undercut superintendents throughout the New York system.

Then came two blows: the death of Guard Quinn, which made the prisoners liable to prosecution for murder, and the arrival of Seale. At first, officials turned Seale away from the prison. But when the inmates learned he was on hand, they refused to talk further until they heard from him. Seale spoke to the prisoners for only about five minutes. He was apparently uninterested in cooling the situation, telling the prisoners that they must make their own decision on Oswald's offer. But they wanted his advice; he said that he would have to consult with the Black Panthers' Huev P. Newton and would return in the morning. The momentum toward a settlement had been lost.

Seale did return next morning but —unknown to some of the visiting committee—Oswald told him he could not address the prisoners unless he urged

TIME, SEPTEMBER 27, 1971

the Aftermath

sweet corn and rolling green hills. Red barns and tall silver silos sit fat amidst fields of goldenrod and purple wild flowers. Along Route 98, small, white clapboard farmhouses ringed with zinnas and neatly clipped lawns are spaced with the regularity of mileposts. Route 98 cuts from north to south and connects the New York State Thrusen.

Despite the towering presence of the prison, Attica in many ways is the archetypal upstate New York community. Its ambience is one of spare Yankee economy distorted by the proximity of metropolitan Buffalo and the lure of markets (and profits) made available by the Thruway. There are old, elm-shaded Victorian homes hard by one and two story frame houses of no particular distinction: in the commercial district the new Citizens' Bank, done in businesslike red-brick modern, contrasts with the clapboard charm of Timm's Hardware. Attica has a variety of fraternal, youth and religious organizations, in addition to seven churches, all well attended on Sundays. The only movie theater, though, closed its doors a few years ago for lack of business. In normal times the most popular pastime is cheering on the Attica Central High School football team. Says Salesman Jim Hall, president of the local Lions club: "I'd consider Attica a good old U.S.A. town.

The prison tragedy has clearly been a shock to the values and ideals of Attica's citizens. There is a bitterness toward the rebel prisoners who led the riots that in

many cases borders on hatred. One man referred to them as "outlaws who are out to destroy our country and burn our cities, and now want to destroy our prison." A woman who refused to give her name went even further. "Now when I see a Negro I feel different," she said, "now I feel uncomfortable." But there is also an understanding of the prisoners' lot. "I felt they had legitimate gripes," said Paul Krotz, one of the hostages. Others praised the Muslim prisoners, who protected several hostages from harm and even death. Said Bill Harder, whose brother and son work at the prison: "We're not blaming all the prisoners, Some should get time off for all the help they gave during the riot."

To a man, the townsfolk insist that the prison guards treated their charges with fair discipline and genuinely tried to help them. The residents feel strongly that the riot occurred because of the "permissiveness" of state officials-notably Oswald, who is as heartily detested as the inmates, "Oswald was at fault." said Frank Mandeville, for many years the owner of Timm's Hardware. "If he had gone in right away, some lives might have been lost, but not on the tragic scale we have now." Mandeville, who still doubts that the hostages were killed by police bullets rather than knife wounds, insists: "Political pressure caused Oswald to change his story." Like many other Atticans, Mandeville also thinks the assault was iustified. "If the troopers had to kill some of the hostages, that was their job," he said. "I give them all the credit in the world '

In the riot's wake, many are thinking of moving away. "Half the men I talk with are ready to quit," says one guard.



MEMORIAL FLAG ON ATTICA STREET

Meanwhile, the town was burying its dead and trying to return to normalcy. Some Atticans, certainly, were reflecting on the words of the Rev. Charles F. Williman, of St. Paul's United Church of Christ, in a sermon at the funeral of one deceased guard. "Until nine days ago, we could believe we were sheltered from the rest of the world, separated as we were from the problems of the people in the city and the ghettos and the rest of the world. If we did not know it then, we know it now. Attica is part of the tragedy that is the world. Time will heal the loneliness and grief we feel now. But Attica can never return to the Attica of nine days ago."

acceptance of the final offer. Seale refused, and left for California. As for William Kunstler, a few members of the committee have charged that he told the prisoners to hold out for anmesty; he denies this. Kunstler did, however, tell the convicts that representatives of "Third World nations are waiting for you across the street." This was an amtice that the conviction of the conviction of the top the hundred reports of the conviction of the top the hundred reports of the conviction of

both black and white, who had arrived

in Attica. It could have been taken by

the immates as a reason to hold out.

By Sunday afternoon, preparations were under way for an assault by state troopers and National Guardsmen; indeed, many of their commanders had for days been pressing Oswald to let them attack. Fearful relatives of the captive guards, waiting wearly in the rain, saw powerful fire hoses carried into the prison, truckloads of gas masks un-

loaded. A Catholic priest asked them to pray for the hostages.

Within the prison's administration building, the committee watched the activity with growing horror. Some arranged another meeting with the immates

and walked a final time down the Ablock corridor (dubbed "the DMZ") toward the prisoner-controlled gates. Inmutes had carlier agreed that newsmen musts had carlier agreed that newsmen were still alive, and allowed the captives to speak before the cameras. The tages pleaded for more time, warned against an assault, and urged Reckefeller against an assault, and urged Reckefeller ler comes here, I am a dead man," said Sergeant Edward Cunningham, are captured from the struck.

Force Meets Force

The state's course had been set. Oswald, consulting with Rockefeller by telephone and with his aides on the scene, had decided that two final ultimatums would be delivered to the prisoners; if there was no favorable response, the attack would come on Monday morning. For prisoners, they felt, were intransigent, and their mood was turning ugler. The prisoners had been been been also the control of the prisoners and the control of the prisoners and the prisoners and the top provide protection against attack, Gates were beine wired to make them electrically hot. Metal tables were upended along the catwalk leading to the "Times Square" intersection of the pris-

on's inner connecting corridors—a route along which any invading police would certainly cone. "They were going to create an inferno [by igniting assoline] when our men came through," contended one Rockefeller aide. "We had a deteriorating situation on our hands, and we had to act before it got worse."

Four of the observers (Wicker, Badillo, Dunne and Jones) telephoned Rockefeller and for 90 minutes pleaded to the property of the property of

At 7 a.m. on Monday, the army of troopers was assigned to specific functions: sharpshooting, rescue, barricade

removal, back-up security. The instructions were to "use force to meet force. The men were to shoot, said one official, "only to prevent death or injury to one of our own or to one of the hos tages." Two state helicopters took off and circled the prison to obtain information on the location of inmates

and hostages in D yard.

About the same time, Oswald sent a personal message to one inmate leader, 'Brother Richard" Clark (see box, page 21). Oswald reminded him of the demands that had been granted, insisted upon the release of all hostages, and asked the inmates to "join me in restoring order to the facility." Clark was given one hour in which to reply.

That Guy

At 8:35 a.m., Oswald walked down the "DMZ" to confront a prisoner delegation led by Clark. Brother Richard said he wanted more time; again he demanded "complete, total, unadulterated amnesty" and the removal of "that guy Mancusi." At 9:05 a.m., a convict shouted down the corridor through a megaphone that all hostages would be killed if state troopers tried to storm the compound. Replied Oswald's chief assistant, Walter Dunbar: "Release the prisoners now. Then the commissioner will meet with you." The fatal one-word reply was "Negative.

Moments later, the prisoners marched four hostages to the top of Times Square. An "executioner" pulled back the head of each and held a knife to his throat. Elsewhere in D yard, grim convicts, taking up similar positions beside each of the other hostages, poised as if to kill them with either a knife or crowbar. Oswald turned to aides: "There's no question now-we've got to go in." Recalling that decision, he said later: "On a much smaller scale, I think I have some feeling now of how Truman must have felt when he de-cided to drop the A-bomb."

The operation was speeded up. At 9:32, a radio observer in a helicopter reported that hostages, guarded by six in-



COMMISSIONER OSWALD If no favorable response . . .

mates, were confined within a circle of park benches in the yard. Sharpshooters were advised to take aim at the threatening convicts-"but you'll have to have hostile action by the inmates to fire. Then the two helicopters, loaded with tear-gas canisters, swept low over the prison, one of them barely clearing the walls. "To all posts," barked the command radio, "Jackpot One is about to make drop." There was a pause. "Jackpot has made drop. Base to all posts -move in: launch the offensive.

The choking gas, which induces tears and nausea, filled the yard. At first the gunfire was barely audible over the roar of the choppers. From one helicopter, an amplified voice kept repeating: "Put your hands over your head. Walk to the outside of the yard. You will not

be harmed. Do not harm the hostages." But as troopers dropped into the clouded compound, hostage blurred with prisoner. Some rescuers tried to reach the captive guards and pull them to safety. Others headed unresisting inmates toward the secure cell blocks. But there was an abundance of shooting. "We piled through and raced past Times Square," recalled one police sergeant. "The ones that resisted-throwing spears and Molotov cocktails-were cut down. We caught some men with arms extended to throw weapons. Anybody that resisted was killed." Claimed one officer: "They came at us like a banzai charge, waving knives and spears. Those we had to shoot.'

Yet much of the shooting may not have been all that necessary. A team of doctors who treated prisoners in their cells later said inmates in widely-separated parts of the prison described in identical detail instances of "indiscriminate" firing by the officers and the calculated slaying of unresisting convicts. Reported Dr. Lionel Sifontes of Buffalo: "Many of the ringleaders were approached by guards and shot systematically. Some had their hands in the air surrendering. Some were lying on the ground.

During the attack, many of the terrified hostages, blindfolded and resigned to death blows from their executioners were blissfully surprised. Phillip ("Curly") Watkins had been talking to his captor. "I asked him if he knew a buddy of mine. He said he did, and then I said, 'Well, then you know who I am. When the helicopters moved in, Watkins' man shoved him to the ground and fell on top of him. "The guy had time to kill me, but he didn't," said Watkins

In his Manhattan apartment, Rockefeller heard the news by telephone from his counsel, Robert Douglass, who was on the scene. "I'll never forget the moment when the report was given that 14 guards had come out alive," he told TIME's Roger Williams. "Now it's 15, now it's 16, now it's 18. And it went up to 21. I was just absolutely overwhelmed. I didn't see how it was possible, with 1,200 men in there armed, with electrified barricades, with trenches.



GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER ... the attack would come.

Twenty-eight men were saved-far more than anyone could have predicted. It was a race between the gas, the knife and police.

When the compound was secured an hour later, nine hostages lay dead. Also dead or fatally wounded were 26 prisoners (four convicts were later found dead of stab wounds, apparently inflicted by other inmates in factional fighting). Then, in the confusion of the aftermath, Oswald and Dunbar made a perhaps understandable but nonetheless inexcusable mistake. They announced that the hostages had all died by having their throats slit. Dunbar added that two hostages had been killed before the attack, and that one hostage had been found emasculated, his testicles stuffed in his mouth.

No Slashed Throats

Individual troopers corroborated the officials' stories. Then, 24 hours later, the Monroe County medical examiner. Dr. John F. Edland, provided some shocking news. He had examined eight of the dead hostages and found that "all eight cases died of gunshot wounds. There was no evidence of slashed throats." A ninth hostage's body was examined at a nearby hospital; he, too, had died of bullet wounds. Two independent pathologists confirmed that all nine hostages had indeed been shot to death. None of the bodies had been mutilated, although some bore cuts and marks from beatings. All had died on Monday morning.

Why had officials been so quick to offer as facts the unsubstantiated reports of slashed throats? Admittedly, the immediate scene was hectic; the wounded and the dead hostages were rushed out of the prison to morgues or hospitals with great speed. Said one observer: "A doctor would take a look at each one. If he shook his head, that meant the guy was dead, and they pulled the sheet over his head." In many cases, the bleeding was so profuse that it spattered blood on the wounded men's necks. Convicts had repeatedly threatened to cut throats, and the executioners' poised knives at the time of the attack had created the expectation that they would do so. Yet once again, the immates' talk proved to be tougher than their acts.

The state's credibility was not bolsered by the bumbling response that of ficials made to Dr. Edland's finding. At first they denied the medical examiner's report; then Oswald wearily admitted that the throat-lashing reports were erroneous. Other spokesmen tried to suggest that the deaths were really the prisoners' fault, claiming honemade zip guns had been found in the compound. Rockedelier finally said faithy that the missted, though, that the attack was "morally justified" and that there had been no "indiscriminate shooting."

Many—including some grieving relatives of the dead convicts—saw the state's effort to blame the prisoners for the deaths as an attempt to cover up a bungled job. To the families of the bungled job. To the families of the less that cause the deaths created a shocking sense of betrayal. One Artican charged entoinally that his relative "was killed by a bullet that had the name Rockeller written on it." At week's end there were still many in Artican charged entoil many in Artican charged entoil

Gauntlet of Guards

The ferocity of the police attack apparently did not subside with the end of the shooting. Guardsman James P. Watson, 24, a law student, testified in a federal court that unresisting naked convicts, standing with hands on heads, were poked in the groin, rectum and legs with clubs to make them run through a gauntlet of guards, who kicked and beat them. Some inmates fell, he said, and guards chased others into a building. Standing near by, Watson heard screams and moans and the sounds of clubs hitting flesh and bone." Days later, four outside doctors confirmed reports of brutality.

The bodies of fallen guards were tagged with their names, and their families were quickly notified. The bodies of convicts were labeled "P1, P2, P3." As late as four days after the gunfer, edit for the state of th

In some U.S. cities, there were sporadic demonstrations protesting the assault. From throughout New York and across its borders, prison officers, state troopers and other lawmen arrived in Attica to attend a solemm and trying round of wakes and funerals for the slain hostages. Dressed in trim uniforms and saluting sharply, but sometimes weeping, they helped the town mourn. At least five investigations, including one by a congressional committee, began trying to find out just what went wrong at Attica. They threatened to get in each other's way and confuse matters even more. A single Warren-type commission commanding broad public confidence might be more useful—especially since many of the convicts have transparent to the confidence might be more useful—ters and Robert E. Fischer, deputy attorney general, has imposed a total press blackout on the prison.

Caught in the swirl of praise and blame. Rockefeller was at week's end still firmly defending his action. "I used my best judgment." he said. Yet that judgment raised some legitimate questions, for which only tentative answers can be given until more facts are known. WAS IT WISE TO NEGOTIATE? Almost to a man, prison officials say no. As long as the inmates held any hostages, officials were in an impossible position, they say. Moreover, dealing with prisoners in this situation only encourages more such seizures. Some uprisings have been quelled when authorities simply refused to negotiate with inmates until hostages were released, Last February, Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel rushed to a state prison where inmates had seized two guards and threatened to kill them. He faced the rebels and said: "We've shown our good faith by coming here: now you show your good faith by releasing them. If you don't, I'm leaving." After 20 minutes, the prisoners surrendered their hostages, then poured

out their grievances to the Governor. WHAT ELSE COULD HAVE BEEN DONE EARLY? Rebellious prisoners, say many experts. are scared and uncertain at the start of an uprising and must be overwhelmed promptly. Contends one Midwestern warden: "At the beginning, the inmates had no security; they would have run if authorities had gone in right away. Actually, Attica prison guards tried, but were repulsed. The Midwestern officer insists that a large enough force, using tear gas and clubs instead of guns, could have been mustered quickly to handle the mob. Another warden says that bringing in too many outside police can undermine the authority of the regular prison staff in the prisoners' eyes. WAS THE OVERSEERS' COMMITTEE A GOOD IDEA? Once the negotiation path is en-

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SHOULD ROCKEFELLER HAVE GONE TO ATTICA? There is no way to know whether Rockefeller's arrival on the scene would have saved lives; yet it is hard to see how it could have made matters worse. A conidient and able persuader, Rockefeller might have eased tensions by dramatizing the state's concern: the might even have given weight to Dowald's ultimatum. Theodore Kheel, New York's vetconvicts found Dowald's quick acceptance of 2a prisoner demands 'too good to be believed'; they feared that his promises were only a ploy to free the hostages and would not be kept. "If would have been a mistake for the Goswould have been a mistake for the Gos-



INMATES DURING NEGOTIATIONS
The immediate scene was hectic.

ernor to negotiate with them face to face," said Kheel. "But if he had come, he would have given the concessions credibility."

WAS INEEE ANY AITENATIVE TO THE AS-SAULTY CETAININ, if hostages were being killed, force had to be applied. Officials were convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the guards were in imminent danger of execution. Waiting could indeed have resulted in more deaths. But there is simply no certainly of that. Criminologist Vernon Fox points out that fatigue and delay often break down the prisoners' cohesion and will to resist. A prolonged stalemate endured in a wet, garbagestrewn yard and with inadequate food and water might have discouraged the rebels and convinced them that they must accept the Oswald concessions or seek some other face-saving out.

WAS THE ASSAULT TACTICALLY SOUND? Only investigations will reveal just how it was executed, but the plan was obviously risky. Radio communications indicated that the observers were not certain precisely where many of the hostages were being held. Because of the rain and the clouds of gas, visibility for sharpshooters was poor. Had the gas been as effective as expected, so much shooting would not have been necessary. Officers were proud that 28 hostages had been saved-but it was not at all clear whether this was because the at-



All too few seem to care.

tack was successful or because the convicts, in the showdown, made no effort to kill their captives

Many of the rebels, of course, were in prison for violent and ugly crimes; many were there for lesser offenses. Yet by and large, at Attica they were treated without distinction, as numbers or niggers or animals to be caged. Most penologists point out that the key to dealing with inmates is to know them-and their leaders-well. In the end, the major failure at Attica may be that the authorities simply did not know what the desperate men behind their walls really wanted, thought or felt. Until the uprising became another symbol of America's many agonies, all too few seemed to care -at Attica or elsewhere.

Prisons: The Way to Reform

ATTICA is certainly not the worst of the 4,770 American prisons and iails. It has too much competition. But it is, nonetheless, fairly typical of a penal system that almost everyone agrees is a disgrace. Almost everyone, that is, but Vice President Spiro Agnew, who, in a spasm of Podsnappery, argued on the Op-Ed page of the New York Times last week that "our penal system remains among the most humane and advanced in the world." By and large, the penologists-not to mention the prisoners and ex-convicts-would go along with Senator Edmund Muskie, who told the Governors Conference in Puerto Rico that the prisons are "monstrous, inhuman dungeons, schools for crime and centers for sexual abuse."

The range of quality in American prisons is wide. At Louisiana's scabrous New Orleans Parish Prison, six men at a time are crammed into a 71-ft. by 14ft. cell. Most are unsentenced prisoners awaiting trial. They exercise one hour every week and spend much of the rest of their time fighting off roaches, rats and homosexual rapists. "A good day." says one prisoner, "is when I get up, have three squares and don't get wound-ed or raped."

At the opposite extreme is the Middlesex County House of Correction in Massachusetts. Since he took over two years ago. County Sheriff John Buckley has turned the chapel into a gym, encouraged a black studies program (5% of the 300 inmates are black, as are 5% of the guards), moved his office into the prison and learned almost all his prisoners' first names. He hired two lawyers to give the inmates legal advice and turned the sheriff's house over for inmate use, including overnight visits with families.

Between the two poles is a vast, hidden world, a nonsystem of isolated societies with more or less of the totalitarian qualities evident aboard the Neversink in Melville's White Jacket. With some encouraging exceptions, the principal distinction of the prisons is failure. More than \$1 billion a year is spent to produce results that would swiftly doom any other enterprise

Eighteenth century Quakers introduced the American concept of prisons as a humane alternative to mutilation and other corporal punishments. Today the presumed goals of prisons are various, and sometimes they conflict. The aims are to wreak society's vengeance on a criminal, to deter other men from violating the law, to rehabilitate a prisoner so that he is fit to return to the open world. Yet far too many institutions make no effort to rehabilitate; they are simply zoos for human animals that society wants out of the way. As a result, criminals are thrown into precisely the environment guaranteed to ensure they will emerge brutalized, more criminally expert and less fit to live lawfully than when they entered. A bleak spirit of damnation hides criminals behind walls, cancels their identities, meanwhile anticipating some moral regeneration and repentance.

Some experts simply despair of ever resolving the dilemma. Says Dr. E. Kim Nelson, director of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California: "The idea of correcting anyone in prison is bankrupt. You can't mix punishment and rehabilitation. Prisons should be used for punishment." Enough liberal, enlightened solutions have failed in many fields to make this a rather tempting thought. Besides, the arithmetic of the situation is depressing. Fully 95% of all inmates in the nation's jails will eventually be released. If past patterns are followed, 40% of these will be repeaters, returning to prison for other crimes

But it can also be argued that rehabilitation has not failed, rather it has not been adequately tried. This view is supported by many isolated successes. The rate of recidivism is down in many areas. Surprisingly, the absolute number of Americans in prison has been declining in the past ten years, principally because of broadened parole and probation programs. Yet the social damage still wrought by prisons that merely train professional criminals remains an overwhelming argument for reform.

Professionals-criminologists, sociologists, penologists and many judges and police chiefs-are nearly unanimous

about what the approach should be: REFORM THE NATION'S CRIMINAL LAWS. Studies indicate there are 6,000,000 non-traffic arrests of adults annually in the U.S. Almost half of those arrests are for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, gambling and minor morals charges. If the laws under which these arrests are made were eliminated, con-clude Authors Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins in The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control, "the consequent reduction of pressure on police, courts and correctional services would have a massive impact on the criminal justice system." It would free police to concentrate on serious crimes, unclog the courts and ease the overcrowded conditions in the nation's prisons.

REPLACE LOCAL AND COUNTY JAILS WITH RE-GIONAL CORRECTION CENTERS. Once arrested and charged, a defendant is either released on bond or his own recognizance, or he is sent to jail to await trial. A defendant normally faces a lengthy wait, especially traumatic for a first offender, spending months or even years in jail with seasoned criminals, perhaps being corrupted even before he is judged innocent or guilty. Authorities should, instead of locking up prisoners indiscriminately in jails, provide modern correction centers. with diagnostic services, staffed by

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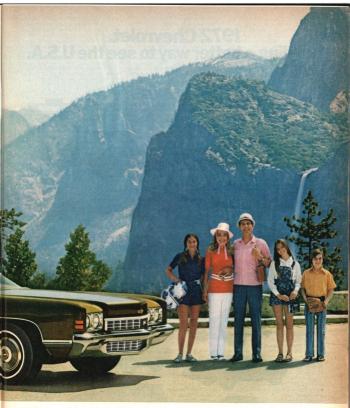
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psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers, with gradations in security.

ABOLISH FIXED SENTENCES. "It takes a superior correctional counselor to inspire in an inmate a desire for self-improvement when he faces several hundred years of confinement," observes Fred Wilkinson, Missouri's Chief of Corrections, with some hyperbole. Indeterminate sentences have been used in California for years. Sometimes, as in the case of George Jackson, they have had the effect of absurdly prolonging prison terms because parole examiners did not like a convict's attitude. But the system would work, it has been argued, if inmates were regularly reviewed by a panel of psychologists as well as parole officers. Some reformers would like the original sentences fixed by correction officers and psychologists instead of judges. If fixed, sentences should be shorter -on the average, those in America are longer than comparable prison terms in a western European democracy.

DESTROY EVERY AMERICAN BASTILLE BUILT BE-FORE 1900. These gray, gloomy, antiquated maximum-security fortresses -Ohio State Penitentiary, for instance, opened in 1834-remain the principal repositories of the nation's convicted criminals. Embezzlers live cell by cell with rapists, first offenders with incorrigibles. Although the cost would be enormous, the great pens should be replaced by a wide variety of institutions: some for minimum-security risks, some for medium security, others for the 10% to 20% of prisoners who are regarded as dangerous or violent. No institution should house more than 500 inmates.

DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES TO PRISONS, Prisons should, after all, be reserved only for truly dangerous criminals. The majority might be better off if they never spent a night inside a cell. It is a moot question whether society would be safe; but it is difficult to imagine that it would be less safe than it is now, since most inmates are still more hardened when released. There are numerous alternatives: halfway houses, in which small groups of inmates sleep but leave for work each day; work-release programs, in which those convicted live in prison but work outside: or as a more limited alternative, furloughs that allow inmates to spend weekends or evenings with their families.

Every one of these reforms has been tried somewhere in the U.S.—and some cases have achieved notable success. Per choolejsts insist that humanizing the prisons is not incompatible with maintaining stret direcipline. But they also admit stret direcipline. But they also admit are directly and the strength of the problem that these programs are or cut down recidivism. There is also the problem that these programs would consume billions of slowler prison. It is also the problem that these programs would consume billions of slowler prison.

In addition, there would be the cost of providing thousands of trained psychologists, parole and probation officers, all of whom would be necessary for an effective rehabilitation effort. According to one study, only 15% of corrections employees are engaged in community programs; 80% have custodial duties. Too often, the guards display the same mentality as the prisoners, regarding immates as enemies to be tensely watched. The present shortage of prophartists and psychologists in appealmentation of the control of the contr

In addition to a reform of prison practices, penologists and lawyers are seeking possible changes inspired by a largety unexplored question: What legal rights should prisoners have? Constitutionally, the question is murky. For the most part, the law does not regard convicts as human beings with the same rights as other citizens—only with privileges dispensed at the pleasure of wardens.

unspensed at the pleastiff of warrens. In 39 states, a felon permanently loses the right to vote; in 27 states, the right to serve on a jury. A felstates, the right to serve on a jury. A felstates, the right to serve on a jury. A felm in 36 states. For all the elaborate constitutional safeguards provided the accused, once the jailhouse door slams behind the convicted, prison officials are their only protection.

In almost all states, immates have few legal rights to freedom of speech and assembly. One of the 28 concessions that Commissioner Rusself G. Oswald offered to the Attica rebels was that conviction of the Attica rebels was that conviction and the advantage of the rows. Yet courts have consistently ruled that prisoners have no right at all to wages. Nor are they entitled to compensation for injuries on the lob. "Prisons have been value a garbage can of society," says Buffalo Law Professional Confession of the Section of the Work of the Confession of the Section of the Work of the Confession of the Section of the Se

Most black prisoners would welcome prison reforms. But for those growing numbers who are becoming intransigently ideological, reforms may seem irrelevant, even a dangerous distraction from their goal of eliminating the "racist system. After George Jackson's death at San Quentin and after Attica penologists wonder whether any reforms within the current prison framework would mollify such prisoners. "Their anger is not directed toward the prisons but toward society," says Peter Preiser. New York State's Director of Probation. "The problem of the militant inmates festers beneath everything we are trying to do."

Attitudes toward Attica are still so divided that it is uncertain whether this tragedy will help or hinder the cause of prison reform. James V. Bennett, the former director of the federal Bureau of Prisons, so new tho thinks the uprising will "harden attitudes" against "The public is going to believe he such uprising in and of itself was a manifestation of revolutionary protest." Others say that Attica will inspire nothing more than an increase in the quantity (but not the quality) of prison guards.

On the other hand, wardens and other prison authorities are warning that pure and simple repression without improvements will simply lead to other, and more desperate uprisings. These cautionary words should find some receptive ears in Washington. Richard Nixon has devoted more money and attention to the problem than any previous President. The Bureau of Prisons' budget has increased from \$69 million in 1969 to \$194 million for 1972; the corrections slice of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's budget has grown from \$2 million in 1969 to \$178 million this year. More than that, both the President and Attorney General John Mitchell have spoken out several times about the need for humane prison re-



THREE-MAN CELL IN FLORIDA PRISON A nonsystem of isolated societies.

forms, and next December the White House will sponsor a major national conference on corrections.

Reforms, of course, will not solve the large social problems of racial prejudice, inadequate housing, poor schools and lack of jobs, which breed so much of the nation's violent crime. With its cultural gaps between white and black. poor and middle class and affluent, the U.S. has very special problems that do not afflict other countries-Sweden or Denmark, for instance-where prison life seems more civilized. The problems are further complicated by a widespread and partly plausible belief that all of the nation's crime and prison troubles result from some fundamental loss of discipline or morality in the society.

But reforms might at least prevent more prisons from becoming ugly, brutalizing battlegrounds where the tensions of society, racial and political, redouble in the claustrophobic air.

TRIALS

More About My Lai

Will the agonizing aftermath of My Lancer and? Last week the court-martial of Captain Ernest L. Medina, Lieut. William Calley's superior officer, pressed painfully on. It seemed less and less likely that anyone would ever know for sure who was responsible for what on the bloody day of March 16, 1968.

The pace and tenor of the Medina court-martial at Fort McPherson. Ga., was in sharp contrast to Calley's Irilant Amay may be a superior of the pace of

van repertory of legal tricks.

Fororoble Testimony, In a typical
maneuere, Balley last week managed to
winess that was overshelmingly favorable to the defense. The winess was
Gene Oliver, a cocky former private in
Charlie Company, who came forward
who had shot and killed a small bey
on the day of the massacre. Medina
had been formally accused of killed
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Oliver was a witness tailor-made for Bailey's dramatic methods. On the stand, he startled the prosecution by declaring: "This whole proceeding is completely unfair. [The prosecution] knows he is innocent as well as I do." Bailey introduced as testimony part of a lie-detector test. which indicated that Oliver had told the truth about the boy's killing. When Eckhardt showed that the same test also indicated that Oliver harbored feelings of "tremendous hostility" toward the prosecution, a violent shouting match ensued between Eckhardt and Bailey in which Eckhardt accused Oliver of deliberately trying to obstruct the prosecution's case. When Oliver arrived at Fort McPherson. he gleefully told an Army driver: "I'm going to blow this case wide open." In part, he did, Colonel Kenneth Howard, the presiding officer, dropped the charge

Army Argst. Medina sided his own case when failey finally put him on the witness stand on the 16th day for the trial. Confident and jaunty, talling in Army argst ("40 mike mikies," "four deuces," "BMNT") for the benfile deuces," "BMNT"] for the wind incli that he had been on the scene of the massare. He also denied that he had told his men, as Calley had claimed erything, including women and children, he said he had merely told them to

"use common sense." Medina admitted to killing the woman in the paddyfield, but claimed that he fired instinctively

when he saw her move.

By week's end Bailey seemed to have maneuvered Medina into a sound strategic position. Colonel Howard ruled that meditated murder in the deaths of the 100 civilians because of insufficient evidence. If the jury accepts Medina's testimony about the woman, the worst judgment that could be rendered against him is one of involuntary manslaughter, which carries a maximum penalty of three years' hard labor. It is doubtful that Medina will draw a sentence anywhere near as heavy as "Rusty" Calley's (20 years' imprisonment pending appeals). Calley showed up long enough at Fort McPherson last week to say that he would plead the Fifth Amendment if called to the stand-which is just what Bailey wanted him to do.



The Constitution in his pocket.

THE SUPREME COURT The Senior Justice Retires

After 34 years on the nation's highst bench--the hird longest tenure of any Justice—Hugo Lafayette Black, 85, last week informed the President that he was resigning immediately because of failing health. Thus facine with characteristic directness what his mind and conscience commanded, Black ended a career that, by virtue of its length and intellectual power, has placed him among the handful of the nation's very greatest jurists.

Since last month Black has been in Bethesda Naval Hospital, where doctors say he has a potentially serious in-flammation of the blood vessels. President Nixon is known to be considering seven possible successors for the position. One leading contender is said to be Republican Representative Richard Poff of Virginia, a constitutional law spe-

cialist, a friend of Attorney General John Mitchell and a Southerner, apparently in the strict constructionist mold Nixon has frequently endorsed.

Dissents into Law. His appointment would mean a further step in Nixon's effort to move the high bench away from the judicial activism of the Warren Court.[®] Since many feel that the era should more properly be labeled the "Black Court," it is fitting that its end may be marked by the senior Justice's retirement. Born in a tiny cabin in Harlan, Ala., Black made his way to the U.S. Senate in 1927 on a platform of populism. As a loyal New Dealer, he was Franklin Roosevelt's first appointment after the F.D.R. court-packing plan had failed. Black's entry to the court was stormy, as newspaper stories revealed he had once been a Ku Klux Klan member. He conceded the affiliation but said it was in the past.

By turns tart or tomelike, Black's opin-

ions initially were mostly dissents, but in the '50s his spare, step-by-step reasoning began attracting a majority. His reasoning served as backbone to such breakthrough decisions as those enforcing Southern school desegregation, expanding the rights of criminal defendants, and requiring state legislatures to be apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis. His longest fight was a largely successful effort to expand application of the Bill of Rights beyond the federal structure to state courts and agents as well. Despite his acknowledged eminence among colleagues, he remained an unprepossessing figure, standing daily in a Government cafeteria line for lunch. His one nonjudicial passion: tennis, which he played for up to four hours at a stretch.

Black's bible was the Constitution, a well-rifiled pocket copy of which he always carried. He believed in enforcing it whatever the consequences and he refused to substitute his judgment, no matter how worthy he thought the cause.

No Surrender. Nowhere was that view clearer than in Black's absolutist interpretation of the First Amendment as protecting all speech, yet he found that protecting the protecting the found that extended to protect such actions as flag or draft-card burning. Last year Black wrote: "I believe the court has no power to add to or subtract from the procedures set forth by the Founders. I lief that that document itself should be our guide, not our own concept of what is fair, decent and right."

Justice John Harlan, 72, a very distant cousin of Black's, is also hospitalized. Should be resign, too, Nixon would have his fourth vacancy to fill.

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unsprung Or a balance wheel that can get un-

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THE ECONOMY

Money: The Dangers of the U.S. Hard Line

THE issues in the international monctarry risis are too complex, and the distinct of the control of the control of and Europe and Japan on the other too deep, for anyone to have expected a full resolution to come out of last week's series of meelings among internationthough, that at least some hard bargaining could start. Instead, the key meeting, a midweek gathering in London of finance chiefs of the world's ten richest to the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of the control of the control of the control of the start of the control of

ropeans what they were prepared to do in order to get the U.S. to drop its 10% surcharge on foreign imports, then and amounted: I don't look to have a man an amounted of the control of t

The Texan's performance left many European officials still puzzled as to surplus. How? Presumably by some comhandion of upward revaluation of major European currencies and the Japanese yen, the removal of barriers against U.S. goods—which are higher in Japan than in Europe—and the assumption by other nations of more of the cost of maintaining U.S. millarly forces overseas. How to achieve, such a combination, possible seemed to be that it is up to the position seemed to be that it is up to the foreigners to figure out some way to meet the U.S. demand.

This hard and aggressive line only has-



SURNS & CONNALLY BEING INTERVIEWED AT THE GROUP OF TEN MEETING IN LONDON

A hard, aggressive line hastened a split.

unable even to agree on what they will talk about when they convene again in Washington on Saturday. The impasse deepened the danger that President Nixon's monetary initiatives will produce not the much needed overhaul of the world financial system that he aimed at, but a trade war that will pit the U.S. against much of the rest of the world.

Financial Theories. The London meeting of the so-called Group of Ten* marked the debut of U.S. Treasury Sectorary John Connally as an international financial negotiator, and he put our tenence he managed to describe a key U.S. demand as both "stunning" and "very conservative": he then added that it is "not subject to negotiations or trading," at one point, he asked the Eulerich Connall of the Connall of the

Really a Group of Eleven, because representatives of Switzerland, which is not formally a member, sit in as "observers." Full members are Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Sweden, the U.S. and West Germany.

what the U.S. really wants right now. The Nixon Administration's eventual goals, of course, are both clear and laudable: a new financial system with more flexible exchange rates based on a frank recognition that the dollar is no longer worth its stated value in many foreign currencies, and a revision of world trade rules that would enable the U.S. to increase its exports and wipe out its balance of payments deficit. That is a bold program; the difficulty is that no one knows quite how to accomplish it. The danger is that, having seized the initiative in getting negotiations started, Nixon and more particularly Connally will push other nations too far too fast down a road that is still dark.

Certainly, what the Europeans heard from Connally in London seemed to them too arrogant to be believed. Connally's one specific, and supposedly nonnegotiable, demand was that the other nations help the U.S. achieve a \$13 billion-a-year swing in its trade balance, from a heavy deficit to a comfortable

tened a split of the Group of Ten into two camps: the U.S. and what some Americans now call "the Nine." Before facing Connally in London, the European Common Market nations met in Brussels to agree on their position. Giscard and German Economics Minister Karl Schiller, whose mutual antagonism had deadlocked previous meetings, showed a new amity. The Europeans agreed to press for a devaluation of the U.S. dollar, to be accomplished by raising the price of gold as part of a general currency revaluation. They also resolved to call for speedy abolition of the U.S. import surcharge in any overall trade deal. In London, the Europeans held to

In London, the Europeans held to this stand despite Connally's pressure. At one point, Schiller gently twitted Connally, who uses the term "burden sharing" to describe the U.S. demand that other nations pay more of the costs of maintaining American troops overseas. Schiller insisted that the dollar must be devalued as the U.S. contribution to a general realignment of currency values, and added: "In this area, too, we would need to achieve some burden sharing." He took care to say the last two words in English.

The net result was that the Ten failed even to draft an agenda for their next meeting.

Bargaining Lever. It is highly uncertain how long this impasse will last. The question of whether U.S. dollar devaluation should be part of the general change in currency values is more a matter of psychology and political prestige than of basic economics. The end result of a currency realignment accomplished either by foreign revaluations alone, or by U.S. devaluation accompanied by foreign revaluations, would be the same: the dollar would buy fewer ven, marks and other major currencies. A small dollar devaluation, however, would constitute an important symbolic recognition by Washington that the dollar's troubles are largely the result of U.S. inflation and balance of payments deficits, rather than somehow the fault of the strong-currency nations. The U.S. could well agree eventually to a small increase in the gold price as part of a package deal to set up a more flexible and realistic system. Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, who accompanied Connally to London, left the impression that he recognizes that this may be necessary.

The U.S. import surcharge presents a difficult problem of timing. Getting rid of it is a high-priority item for the Europeans and Japanese, whose sales in the lush U.S. market will soon be hurt by the tax. But the Nixon Administration is reluctant to give up the bargaining lever that the surcharge provides, and the President last week hinted that the tax will be around for quite a while. Still, the Europeans' main demand at the moment is reasonable: that the U.S. spell out clearly its conditions for dropping the surcharge. The toughest issue is the size and speed of a switch in the overall U.S. balance of payments, which went into the red by a record \$5.8 billion in the second quarter. The Nixon Administration calculates that under present conditions and without the surcharge the American deficit, just in trade with other nations, would balloon to a \$5 billion annual rate by 1972 as the U.S. economy moves back toward full employment and sucks in more imports. Instead, the U.S. wants to achieve a trade surplus of \$8 billion; the difference between that and a \$5 billion deficit produces Connally's figure of a \$13 billion switch. Some \$6 billion of the \$8 billion trade surplus would go to finance U.S. business investment and military spending overseas; the remaining \$2 billion would be a margin of safety

To the Europeans and Japanese, this looks like an astonishing demand that they change their currency values and offer trade concessions so that they may swallow an additional \$13 billion of

U.S. goods and services annually—and do so for the express purpose of enabling the U.S. to go on buying up forcign industry and acting with a free hand militarily around the world. Moreover, the U.S. position seems to be that this switch should be accomplished in the breathtakingly short period of about one vest.

The Europeans, however, cannot simply refuse to cooperate in a U.S. attempt to wipe out the balance of payments deficit, which they have often, and justly, denounced as the chief threat to world financial stability. They seem willing to bring about a switch of around ments position, though they think that this can be accomplished only over a period of several years.

Failing the Test. The immediate trouble is that Connally's negotiating meth-



SCHILLER & GISCARD d'ESTAING Too far, too fast?

od is to press the other side to the limit, and to see what concessions can be wrung out before offering anything in return. That tactic may work at home, but Europeans do not bargain the way Texans do. Unpublished sections of a report adopted by the 55-member council of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, meeting in Geneva last week, indicated the danger. The report warned that if the U.S. import surcharge is still in effect by Jan. 1 and prevents the U.S. from carrying out the final phase of tariff cuts agreed to in the Kennedy Round negotiations, GATT nations would be compelled to retaliate -in short, it predicted a trade war.

Such an outcome would be the opposite of what the Nixon Administration says it wants: a reformed international monetary system and freer trade. Those are worthy and indeed indispensable goals, but Connally's method of pursuing them so far is failing the first test of effective negotiation. It simply is not producing the intended results.

First Outlines Of Phase II

The American people don't want to have a freeze followed by a thaw where you get stuck in the mud, and we are not going to have that kind of thing. [Phase II] will have tech in it. You cannot have jawboning that is effective without teeth.

-Richard Nixon

LESS than a month before his self-imposed deadline for announcing the nation's post-freeze economic rules, President Nixon last week publicly discussed his "tentative conclusions" about Phase II for the first time. They left unanswered many questions about the

sharpness of those teeth, or indeed just who will have the power to use them. But the President provided the clearest picture yet of what one aide called the "Nixon Doctrine in Economics."

In his first press conference since he announced the freeze, Nixon promised that the rules of Phase II "will restrain wages and prices in major industries." His remarks left little doubt that the Administration will retain legal authority to force such industries to roll back wage and price increases that it considers inflationary, rather than relying on strictly voluntary compliance. It will probably do so by asking Congress for a one-year extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, which empowered Nixon to declare the freeze; that act expires next April 30. A similar pro-

gram of firm control was also suggested earlier in the week by Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, who went on to predict that wage increases will have to be based on a "productivity formula," presumably one that would tie the amount of pay hikes to specific increases in output per man-hour.

At his press conference, the President said that Stans' protect to the primarily said that Stans' protect to view primarily and not necessarily his own. Even so, a number of incential officials, including Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, have urged the creation of productivity councils that presumably could influence the level of wage increases.

Confrontation with Labor. Stans, who spoke before a group of clothing manufacturers, also said that neither wage nor price increases scheduled under contracts during the freeze period could be made retroactive after it ends on Nov. 13. He ruled out any controls on profits or dividends. Earlier in the



"Say, that rescue boat looks like a kind of a tight ship."

week, 23 Democratic Governors had called for restraints on both, "commensurate" with Phase II wage guidelines; the same demand has been voiced by A.F.L.-C.I.O. President George Meany. Said Stans: "Sooner or later we will have to have a confrontation with labor on this."

That is only one of the disputes involving labor that continues to brew. Another major issue involves the composition of any board appointed to regulate Phase II. Meany and other labor chiefs strongly support a tripartite group of business, labor and 'public' repident's properties of the properties of the properties of the White House. Many businessmen who have spoken to the President, probably assuming that their interests could most safely be trusted to an Administration they consider friendly, ugent agenerated Phase II.

agement of Plase II.

Letes I Indicate, After a meeting with a group of Governors and local of-ficeholders, Nierwick 1962, 196

Nixon predicted that the economy's performance during the fourth quarter this year, provided Congress acts far-vorably on his tax program, will show marked improvement. "Rather than being good, it will be considerably better than good," he said. His speculation monition indicators. Last week the Federal Reserve Board reported that the antion's industrial output in August fell .8% to its lowest point this year—10.51.% of the 1967 base. Much of

the decline reflected a lag in steel orfeor caused by stockpiing during the industry's contract negotiations earlier this year. The production figure probably was not influenced by the President's Aug. 15 speech at all, but another key indicator—which should have been—may also be lagging. The Conference Board, a research group supported by major corporations, reported that consumer confidence has shown no dramatic improvement as a result of the Nixon program.

No Compromise. The President said that he would not battle congressional changes in his tax and spending proposals, unless they "completely blew the top off our budget." Just such a threat emerged last week from the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which voted to reject Nixon's proposed delay in pay raises for federal white collar employees scheduled for Jan. Under federal law, a vote against the measure by either house would frustrate Nixon's hope of reducing the current fiscal budget by \$1.3 billion. Because the delay in salary raises is politically unpopular, the job of ramming it through Congress, says House G.O.P. Leader Jerry Ford, "is going to be tough."

On the main economic front, there has been no compromise whatever. Last week the Cost of Living Council announced that it had received 1,439 requests for exemptions from the wage-price freeze. It added that it had not granted a single one.

The Great Tax Debate

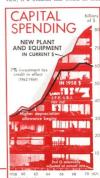
SPIRITED controversy is crackling around the key element in President Nixon's program to stimulate the economy: his plan to reduce taxes on business spending for plant and equipment. Since it was announced last month, the proposed "investment tax credit" has sparked debate among leaders of business, labor, Congress and the Administration. Critics charge that the tax credit is economically and socially inadequate because it offers too much for corporate investors while individual tax reductions provide too little for consumers. Top White House aides argue that the credit will induce more spending for capital investment, provide jobs and prosperity, and make prices of American goods more competitive abroad. Basically, the tax credit would en-

able businessmen—as well as doctors, deductists, frealmen eviters, and all other self-employed persons who buy new equipment—100 subtract 10% of their expenditures from their tax bill the first year. Because of the way deductions are calculated in the corporate tax structure, this would be about the same as get-equipment. From the second year on the credit would drop to 5%. Treastry officials estimate that the credit would slice \$3 billion from corporate taxes structure.

during the first fiscal year, \$4 billion the second, and somewhat less thereafter. Investors who buy machinery before next Aug. 14 will be able to claim the higher credit for goods delivered six months beyond that date. This accommodation will cause a budge in 10% and the second of the control of the second of the control of the contr

The credit would be the second big break for business so far in 1971. Last January the Administration granted businessmen a speeded-up depreciation allowance on machine and equipment spending. This so-called "asset depreciation range," or ADR, increases by 20% the pace at which investment in equipment can be written off. In effect, it is a tax reduction. If Nixon's proposed investment tax credit were added to the ADR, corporations would stand to gain a total of about \$7 billion in tax reductions in fiscal 1972. By contrast, the Administration's program would bring about savings on individual taxes totaling only \$2.5 billion in the next calendar year.

Critics contend that the investment credit, on top of the ADR, not only is inequitable but also fails to meet the immediate problems of unemployment and a sluggish economy. They point out that with industry running at only 73% of capacity, corporations have scant reason to buy more equipment. Thus the tax savings, in the opposition's view, is a windfall that would do little



Tips for Travelers:

Don't Bring Cash

U.S. travelers got the best deals for their dollars last week in-of all places -Israel, Tanzania and East Germany. After Nixon's August bombshell, Israel devalued its money: it now gives £4.20 Israeli to the dollar instead of the old £3.50 rate, and many stores cut another 15% off the prices of goods bought with dollars. On the flourishing black markets in Tanzania, Indian businessmen who are being forced out of the country by "Africanization" are buying dollars at twice the legal rate of exchange. And at the Leipzig Fair, East Germany's Communists offer the pre-August rates of 4.17 East German marks for the capitalist dollar.

Elsewhere, dollar-carrying travelers can find few bargains. To protect themselves in this period of the floating dollar, U.S. travelers are stocking up cash and traveler's checks in pounds sterling, German marks, Swiss francs—anything but dollars—before they go abroad. Once arrived, they find that even a fistful of foreign money is no

guarantee of a favorable exchange rate.
Discounts of up to 10% are being demanded, not just on dollars but on other currencies as well. Dealers explain weakly that they have to protect themselves against possible drops in official rates that can come at any time.
Different banks in the same city offer ex-

change rates that vary by as much as 4% on the same currencies, and hotels change money at substantially worked that the substantially made and the substantially made and the substantially which the substantially while the official rate stood at 3.8. Dublin's Royal Hibernian Hotel offered 37 new pence to the dollar, while American Express gave 40—a spread of 71×5%. For those who wish to get the best lowing advice:

Note that the substantial that the substantial rate was a substantial to the substantial that the substantial that

except small sums for taxis and tips on arrival.

▶ Do not change money in hotels, restaurants, stores, ferry boats—where managements usually feel they deserve a favorable rate for the convenience they are providing. Street operators in Italy and other countries offer attractive rates to tourists but give back bundles of newspaper strips with a genuine bill

on top.

Do not be taken in by shops that advertise surprisingly seductive exchange rates. To make up for that, the price of their merchandise is probably inflated.

any imated.
Do use traveler's checks rather than cash. Nearly everywhere, traveler's checks command more favorable rates than cold cash. Reason: dollar bills must be bundled up, insured and shipped back to the U.S. before they can be credited to a money changer's account, but



U.S. TOURISTS IN TOKYO Finding few bargains.

traveler's checks can be credited by computer almost instantly.

Do use credit cards rather than any-

thing else. Because they often maintain large reserves of many currencies, creditcard companies generally stick to official exchange rates.

Ficial exchange rates.
 Do change money on weekdays. An exchange office that does business on weekends can often command virtually any rates that it pleases.

more in the short run than boost profiies. Most labor leaders oppose the idea, maintaining that it would do little to whitle down the jobless rate in steel, aerospace, autos and other major industries. Says A.F.L.-C.L.O. President George Meany: "The President labels the scheme a Job Development Program, dustry's investment in new equipment will eliminate jobs." in new equipment

Businessmen naturally support the tax credit program. Yet officials at many large companies, including steel firms and the nation's largest corporation, General Motors, agree that capital spending is governed more by market conditions than by tax incentives. In a recent survey, Lionel D. Edie & Co, found that the proposed tax credit had made albitance of the proposed tax spending objants of far.

plans so far.

In defense of the tax credit, Budget Director George Shultz says that it would provide plenty of new jobs in the construction field and capital goods industies. motably in the metal-working the provided of the properties of the credit would spir corporations to undertake much needed modernization of equipment "to improve productivity and get costs down.

The latest official survey shows that the U.S. spends about 6.9% of its gross national product on plant and equipment; by contrast, Germany spends more than 11%, Norway 15.2% and Japan 29%. Partly because of liberal tax incentives, much of the industrial equipment in foreign countries is newer than in the U.S. For example, most of Japan's plant and equipment is no more than six years old. In the U.S. 20% of the industrial complex is more than 20 years old and much of the rest of it is

more than ten years old. Administration leaders constantly recall that the Democrats instituted a similar investment tax policy under President Kennedy in the 1960s. From 1962 to 1965, the tax credit and other tax reforms increased jobs without stirring inflation: annual economic growth climbed from 2.3% to 6.3%, and unemployment dropped from 6.7% to 4.5%. "But there are differences between today and ten years ago," says Joseph Pechman, chief of economic research at the Brookings Institution, who prefers the tax credit without the ADR, "Now we have low capacity after a long period of investment boom. Back then we had low capacity after a long period of low investment. We needed the combined stimulus of rapid depreciation and investment credit."

Walter Heller, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers who

The 7% investment credit was repealed by Congress in 1969 in an effort to cool inflation fired by the Viet Nam War. helped institute the first investment tax credit under President Kennedy, remembers that business spending did not substantially pick up until 1964, when consumer spending was boosted by a major cut in personal income taxes. Heller opposes Nixon's current tax package. His view: "It's a case of upside-down economics, because while investment stimulus is needed, consumer stimulus is needed even more." In the view of Heller and some other top economists, an investment credit should be adopted now, but the ADR should be jettisoned and greater cuts should be made in personal income taxes.

Indeed, Congress is likely to modify the Administration's tax package along just such lines. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, believes that the investment credit is the most powerful economic stimulant devised in a generation; he expects results from it within six months of enactment. "We know what it will do," he says. Mills also wants to increase tax reduction for consumers. To get the money for this, he will probably cut back on the depreciation allowance and push for a straight 7% tax credit instead of the 10%-5% formula. Obviously the Administration will have to accept some modifications in its package. In matters economic, Wilbur Mills is a tough man to beat.

THE WORLD

United Nations: Mao on the Threshold

For all the high ideals in the Charter, the United Nations is a very downto-earth and pragmatic organization. which for the most part deals with hard political realities rather than with portunities for inspirational leadership or crusading are exceedingly rare.

So said U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant last week as he prepared to vacate the post he has held since 1961. a job that the U.N.'s first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, once characterized as "the most impossible in the world." In an ordinary year, the selection of a new Secretary-General would overshadow most other matters on the agenda of the General Assembly. Ten years any doubt that the Communist government will immediately be granted China's permanent seat on the 15-seat Security Council; that, too, became a virtual certainty when the U.S. went on record last week as supporting such a move. The remaining question is whether, in the weeks to come, the U.S. will be able to prevent the U.N. from altogether expelling Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese regime.

Important Question. Washington's current policy, as outlined last month by Secretary of State William Rogers. is a one-China, one-Taiwan approach. The U.S. will support the admission of Peking without the expulsion of Taipei from the General Assembly. That stand involves harrowing legal problems. Accome in while Taiwan is here. We regret that Taiwan would have to be expelled. but China's presence here is more important.

Accordingly, both Britain and France are expected to support the Albanian resolution, co-sponsored by 17 members, that calls for the admission of Peking as China's representative and the expulsion of Taipei. The U.S. had been counting on Japan to co-sponsor its resolution. Two weeks ago, however, the Japanese told Washington that they were having second thoughts, even though they still planned to vote for the resolution. In a sharp exchange during two days of meetings in Washington, Secretary Rogers declared to Japanese Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda: "I see your position as



ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MALIK



"YEAH-WE'RE WORKIN' ON IT." Hard political realities rather than sweet reason or ideal aspirations.



RETIRING SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT

ago, in fact, that very issue brought the U.N. to the brink of a breakup when the Soviet Union tried to create an unwieldy three-man directorate in order to keep the post from falling into the hands of another activist in the mold of the late Dag Hammarskjöld.

Historic Matter. The selection of a new Secretary-General will indeed be an important topic on the agenda, along with such perennial problems as the Middle East and such current troubles as the civil war in Pakistan. But when the 26th session of the General Assembly convenes in New York this week, under the presidency of Indonesia's Adam Malik, the delegates will be preoccupied with an even more historic matter: the admission of Mao Tse-tung's China to the United Nations.

It is now regarded as certain that the Peking government will be admitted this fall, 22 years after the Communist takeover on the mainland. Nor is there cording to the U.N. Charter, the admission and expulsion of members must be recommended to the General Assembly by the Security Council. If Peking is allowed to take over China's Security Council seat, it is certain to oppose any plan to retain Taipei's U.N. membership, since it argues-as does Chiang's regime-that the island is not a separate country but a part of China.

The U.S. tactic nonetheless is to argue that the matter of Taipei's expulsion is an "important question" calling for a twothirds vote of the 127-member Assembly rather than a simple majority. But it is having great difficulty lining up support for this position, despite such efforts as U.N. Ambassador George Bush's meeting last week with U.N. envoys from 35 member states. As a British diplomat explained, "We don't question U.S. intentions on this matter, but the practical effect of the U.S. resolution would be to keep Peking out because Peking will not

totally illogical." Replied Fukuda: "Politics has its own logic," Premier Eisaku Sato's government was stunned by the announcement of Nixon's trip to Peking and by his economic policy, and those twin shocks have served to reinforce the arguments of Sato's critics that Japan should have a foreign policy more independent of the U.S. Even Sato's own Liberal Democratic Party is sharply divided over whether Tokyo should move immediately toward closer relations

Without Japan's complete support. other Asian states were reluctant to support Taipei. "Many countries, particularly those on the periphery of China." said a U.N. delegate from Southeast Asia, "are wondering if they should offend China by supporting the American proposal when it's not clear how far the U.S. itself is going to stick its neck out." Even Australia and New Zealand refused to co-sponsor the U.S.



There are 23 diamonds in this dinner ring. Each one is a fully cut gem. Yet the cost is only \$450.

To anyone who has never shopped for diamond jewelry, this price may seem unbelievably low. You may even wonder if the diamonds are real. But they are.

That's the wonderful thing about the small diamonds in jewelry. The magic of a large diamond is duplicated exactly in a beautiful miniature.

Diamonds come in all sizes.

All beautiful.

Today you can find diamond jewelry in a wide range of designs. Many pieces are perfect for afternoon wear or for a less formal evening. And they need not be expensive.

The delicacy of this dinner ring required the use of small diamonds. And smaller gems usually mean a lesser price for you.

The jeweler's measure for the size of a diamond is the carat. Fractions of a carat are expressed in points, with 100 points to a carat.

The gems you see here have been mag-

nified five times to show some of the details of craftsmanship. Actually, each of these diamonds measures about 3 points.

Little windows, full of light.

The true beauty of a diamond can

never be revealed until it is cut and faceted by an expert. This is why diamond "chips" are almost never found in diamond jewelry. Facets are the little planes or windows

that the cutter places on a diamond. Each facet must be cut at precisely the right angle to bring out the fire and sparkle that nature hid there.

When you realize that each of the small gems in this ring has 58 different facets—which cannot be detected by the naked eye—you begin to understand the precision with which a diamond cutter practices his art.

The hidden color scheme in diamonds.
You may have heard that almost all

diamonds have a tinge of color. This color adds warmth to the gem, but in

many cases it is so slight that only an expert can find it there.

Diamonds used in jewelry must be selected for their color and clarity, as well as for size.

You will probably never be aware of the matching of color when you look at this ring.

The total effect of harmony is what you do see and appreciate.

Your own personal rainbow.

All diamonds, whatever their individual characteristics, are precious. The spell they cast is unique.

If you were wearing this ring, you would see that every single gem catches the light. And sends it back to you in a dazzling shower of colors.

Your jeweler will be pleased to show you many beautiful pieces of diamond jewelry at almost any price, beginning around \$200.

Published by De Beers to help you in selecting your diamond jewelry.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.



Oldsmobile Ninety-Eight is more than

As the years go by, you look for something more substantial in the car you drive. Size and luxury alone become meaningless. So, we offer an immensely comfortable car that is more than big, more than plush.

The 1972 Ninety-Eight runs on innovation. It's enhanced by 75 years of Oldsmobile history. It's what you've always wanted in a car, all in one car.

Room to stretch.

The Ninety-Eight is big. Big engine. Big space. Big comfort. You can carry people, packages, presidents or pets, and

still have room to stretch. And the trunk is big enough for more than an overnight trip.

The seats are soft, the feel is luxury, the windows are easy to raise, to lower, to look out of. There's plush on the ceiling and plush on the floor, and you only know how rough a road is by looking. But the Ninety-Eight is much more still.

A soft-spoken engine.

Zero to cruising speed is a smooth, effortless movement. Its 455-cubic-inch Rocket V-8 is always ready with the power you need, when you need it.

Nevertheless, it runs efficiently, and with lower exhaust pollutants, on no-lead, low-lead or regular gasolines.

The Ninety-Eight and security. All the GM safety features have been built into this car. Sideguard beams in the doors, a cargo-guard that separates trunk and passengers, a doublesteel roof overhead. Hopefully, all that occupant protection won't ever be called upon. But it's there.

The ride is special, too. Because of Supershocks, computer-selected springs and



just plush elegance and a big back seat.

other interrelated components, it handles bumps, stiff winds, rough roads, and highway maneuvers with superb ease. Passing, turning, stopping, starting, cruising are done with little effort, excellent road stability and comfort.

Behold....our bumper!

The new front bumper of the Ninety - Eight absorbs minor impacts, but in a new way. Because of its new spring-steel mounting, it flexes . . . gives a little . . . then comes right back for more.

To make it even stronger, the

bumper is made of heaviergauge plated steel. And there's a protective vinyl insert to guard the bumper from nicks, dings and scratches.

Easier driving: standard.

What you may have to pay extra for on many cars is standard on the Ninety-Eight. A Turbo Hydra-matic transmission changes gears, power front disc brakes stop you, power steering steers, power ventilation keeps the air moving extension keeps the air moving extension when the car is standing still; the Ninety-Eight helps do many duings for you.

What you want in a car, all in one car.

Driving should be a secure and dependable means of moving from one place to another, in all the comfort and luxury you could ask for. A car can be luxurious, or a gem of engineering and performance, or a big back seat.

The 1972 Ninety-Eight is all of these

OLDSMOBILE NINETY-EIGHT. QUITE A

QUITE A SUBSTANTIAL CAR



resolution, and at week's end the dismal list of co-sponsors included only the Philippines, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras and Swaziland. The plain fact is that unless the Japanese government changes its mind following a Cabinet meeting this week, Taipei will almost certainly be expelled when the issue reaches the blue-and-gold chamber of the General Assembly, probably no sooner than mid-October. An early test of prevailing sentiment is set for this week when the 25-member General Committee, which determines the agenda, decides whether to give priority to the U.S. or the Albanian resolutions.

Jewish Mother, If the China problem is devilishly difficult, so is the selection of a successor to U Thant. III. frustrated and weary, the 62-year-old Secretary-General finally convinced his colleagues only in recent weeks that he had no intention of remaining in office after his second five-year term expires Dec. 31.

There is no shortage of applicants for the \$65,000-a-year job. Foremost among these is Finland's Ambassador to the U.N., Max Jakobson, 48, who has won the backing of the other Scandinavian states. His chief asset is also a liability; an able man and an activist, he might strike the Soviets as being a bit too much like the late Dag Hammarskiöld, whom the Russians never forgave for inspiring the U.N.'s military operation in the Congo. Jakobson has Jewish, a fact that might provoke opposition from Arab states and perhaps even their Soviet allies.

If Jakobson should be ruled out, a likely alternative might be Gunnar Jarring, 63, Sweden's Ambassador to Moscow and the U.N.'s Middle East negotiator. Jarring, however, is under heavy fire at home at the moment for his shabby treatment of Soviet Writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. After Solzhenitsyn won the Nobel Prize for literature last year, much to the annovance of Soviet leaders, Jarring refused to hold an award ceremony at the Swedish embassy in Moscow lest it offend the Soviet Union. The incident was widely criticized in the West as well as in Sweden, where one newspaper, Sydsvenska Dagbladet, accused the government of "pitiful toadying" to the Kremlin.

Apart from Jakobson and Jarring, there are four other candidates for the Secretary-Generalship so far: Ceylon's U.N. Ambassador, Hamilton Amera-singhe; Austria's U.N. Ambassador, Kurt Waldheim; Ethiopia's former U.N. Ambassador, Endalkachew Makonnen; and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (and a half brother of the late Aly Khan). But, as is so often the case in U.N. politics, the strongest contenders appeared to be the Scandinavians. It seemed likely that if the Russians should find Jakobson too assertive, they could hardly object to Jarring, who despite his considerable diplomatic skill is also inoffensively bland.

The Moscow Globetrotters

THE Soviet Union's most ambitious diplomatic offensive in more than a decade is under way. All three members of the Kremlin's ruling troika have announced elaborate travel plans; by the end of the year, they will have visited no fewer than eight countries. When they are not out barnstorming, they will be at home to welcome a number of foreign dignitaries to Moscow. The

major comings and goings: BRANDT IN THE CRIMEA: Following the signing of the Big Four agreement on Berlin last month, the Soviets unexpectedly invited West German Chancellor Willy Brandt to fly to the Crimea for talks with Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev. Brandt, anxious to get his stalled Ostpolitik back on sched-

with grass and cactus plants. There, following a dip in the Black Sea, Brezhnev and Brandt discussed proposed trade and cultural agreements. India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will probably meet Russia's top officials in a more mundane Kremlin setting when she arrives in Moscow this week for a two-

BREZHNEV IN BELGRADE: With Brandt back home. Brezhnev is scheduled to call on Yugoslavia's President Josip Tito in Belgrade this week. The talks will provide an important clue to Soviet intentions toward the independent-minded Yugoslavs. Will Brezhnev, in the interests of European détente, accept Yugoslavia's unorthodox experiments in political and economic decentralization? How will be



KREMLIN TROIKA (FROM LEFT): BREZHNEV, PODGORNY & KOSYGIN From Hanoi to Algiers to a cave in the Crimea, a period of frenzied activity.

ule, quickly accepted. During three days of meetings last week at the secluded village of Oreanda near Yalta, Brandt told the Soviet leader of his concern over the second phase of the Berlin negotiations, involving talks between the two Germanys over access provisions of the agreement. The talks were bogging down over West Berliners' travel rights. Brandt is believed to have pointed out that the East Germans will have to be more flexible if the second phase is to be completed before Christmas. Until the Berlin problem is wrapped up, Brandt does not intend to submit his nonaggression treaties with Moscow and Warsaw to the Bundestag for ratification. The Russians are eager to get both treaties formally approved as a prelude to the convening of a European security

One meeting took place in a room in an artificial limestone cave carpeted deal with Yugoslavia's flirtation with The climate for this week's meeting

has been improved by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's apparent decision not to visit Albania. Rumania and Yugoslavia this fall. For several months, Moscow had grumbled about the formation of a sort of pro-Peking Tirana-Bucharest-Belgrade axis. Moscow was even dropping ominous hints of military intervention against Rumania and Yugoslavia, but the Russians now seem to have cooled off. After Belgrade, Brezhnev's next whistlestop is Paris in late October.

PODGORNY TO HANOI: Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny will visit Hanoi early next month. He will undoubtedly try to exploit North Viet Nam's uneasiness about Richard Nixon's planned visit to Peking. He may also offer Soviet aid in the wake of severe floods that have devastated the Red River Delta. Podgorny is

also scheduled to visit Iran for next month's celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire.

KOSYON TO CAMADA. The trolka's busiest member will be Premier Aleksei Kosyin, who will travel to Algeria, Canada, Norway and Denmark. In Algeria, Kosyin is likely to seek further agreent on oil development and offer more economic aid. After Ortawa, he just might drop in at the United Nations—a visit that would put pressure on Moston to invite lim for talks along the Nation to invite lim for talks along the sygin and Lyndon Johnson at Glassborn, NJ. Such a meeting would reduce himpact of Nixon's Peking visit, and Administration officials are dropping strong ministration officials are dropping strong

hints that they do not want a summit.

Much of this intensive diplomatic activity is designed to isolate Peking and blunt China's diplomatic offensive. An-

other goal of Moscow's globetrotters, apart from simply seeking to enhance Soviet prestige and power, is to achieve European defenie. By so doing, Moscow hopes not only to accelerate the gradual unraveling of the Western Alliance in Europe but also to reduce its overall military spending—even white maintaining they are attempting, in all possible ways, to demonstrate to a skerptical Europe that

The Berlin agreement was the first test. The next will be the U.S.-Soviet test. The next will be the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitations Tale (SALT), whose first stage could lend in two or three months with an agreement covering anti-ballistic missiles. There were reports last week that the Soviets and the U.S. have already agreed, duranties of the test of the stage of the test of the

they are genuinely seeking détente.

As further demonstrations of their sincerity, the Soviets in the past two weeks have called for a worldwide conference on disarmament and agreed to hold talks with the U.S. on ways to end mutual harassment by Soviet and U.S. naval units at sea.

Washington is worried that the Soviets might use the global disarmament conference as a massive, unfocused propagnada-fest. The Nixon Administration, under pressure from Senate Matches and the properties of the LS. trope, commitment in Europe, would prefer to narrow the talks to the LS. trope, commitment in Europe, would prefer to arrow the talks to the ANTO and Warsaw Pact nations and the topic to "mutual and balanced force reductions" (Walley) in Central Europe. Though British Defense Minister Lord as "much benefit for the Russians," the U.S. is hopeful that talks on troop cuts may yet prove worthwhile.

Psychoadaptation, or How to Handle Dissenters

FFICIAL methods of dealing with dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union have always been harsh and arbitrary. They are no longer, as in Sta-lin's day, summarily shot. Now, with the authorities anxious to preserve legal forms, an increasingly common punishment for dissenters is confinement to mental hospitals that are often jails in disguise. Technically, Soviet courts cannot sentence a man to prison or labor camp unless he has violated the criminal code. Health officers, however, can commit anyone to "emergency psychiatric hospitalization" if his behavior is simply deemed abnormal. "Why bother with political trials," a leading Soviet forensic psychiatrist reportedly has said, "when we have psychiatric clinics? One Soviet citizen who has suffered

such treatment is the prominent geneticist and gerontologist Zhores Medvedev, 46, a leading spokesman for the "loyal opposition" within the Russian intelligentsia. Last year he was forced to spend 19 days in a madhouse for a condition diagnosed as "split personality. expressed in the need to combine the scientific work in his field with publicist activities; an overestimation of his own personality; a deterioration in recent years of the quality of his scientific work; an exaggerated attention to detail in his publicist writing: lack of a sense of reality; poor adaptation to the social environment.

Medvedev irritated Soviet authorities when two of his works reached the West. In 1969 the Columbia University Press printed The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko, a devastating history of how the crackpot genetic theories of Stalin's pet scientist were established as unassailable dogma until the fall of Khrushchev in 1964.

After that book was published, Med-



ZHORES MEDVEDEV

vedev was fired from his job as head of the Obnins' radiological institute, 55 miles southwest of Moscow. Unable to find another job, he set about writing a calm, straightforward survey of her estrictions, cennorship, and surveilance that oppress many Soviet intellectuals. This work too found its way to the West via sunrichar filterally self-ground by the control of the control

Medvedev was released only after his twin brother, Roy, an eminent historian, mobilized a protest by a group of internationally renowned writers and scientists, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Physicsits Andrei Sakharov and Pyotr Kapitsa, and Mstislav Keldysh, president of the Academy of Sciences. Last summer, in an attempt to hush up the concurrasing affair the KGB (Science and Academy of the Acade

Shortly afterward Zhores Medvedev was notified to report for "a routine checkup" at the local psychiatric clinic at Obninsk, where he discovered that he was registered as an outpatient with a record of "incipient schizophrenia" accompanied by "paranoid delusions of reforming society." Since the authorities had broken their part of the bargain. Medvedev wrote an account of his ordeal; Roy added his own diary of the affair. This document was brought out in Russian last week by Macmillan, Ltd. of London. An English translation will be published in the U.S. by Alfred A. Knopf on Dec. 1, under the title A Question of Madness.

One of Zhores Medvedev's foremost fears is that the Soviet government may be experimenting with a sinister new form of repression, which he calls "psychoadaptation," as a means of controlling dissent. In A Question of Madness he writes:

"Totalitarian centralization of the medical service, while introducing the progressive principle of free health care for all, has also made it possible to use medicine as a means of government control and political regulation. Medical 'dossiers' in clinics and hospitals are available to government officials, and a growing number of institutions and agencies ask for reports about a person's state of health with details of his past medical history and symptoms. Psy-



DOUGLAS-HOME ASTRIDE CAMEL AT PYRAMIDS

chiatrists are playing an increasingly important role in all this; they may secretly veto a young person's entry to be an academic institution, or a trip abroad —even only as a tourist—or pronounce on his suitability for many categories of employment. The medical record kept of in a clinic or outpatient department may cause a man as much trouble as a court conviction or Jewish ortion."

The Medvedev book is an articulate, dispassionate argument that such practices violate Soviet legality, and that "the inhuman use of medicine for political purposes" threatens to undermine patients. "People are beginning to be afraid of psychiatric hospitals, resorting to them only in cases of extreme necessity," writes Zhores. "If things go on like this, it will end with healthy, the control of the control

A Question of Madness ends with an appeal on behalf of dissidents who are still locked up in prison asylums and in many cases undergoing brutal pseudomedical treatment with debilitating drugs. One dissenter who has fared far worse than Medvedev is the philologist Vladimir Bukovsky, 28. Since 1963 he has suffered a number of what Medvedev calls "psychiatric reprisals" as well as imprisonment for his activities in the Soviet civil rights movement.

Not that Zhores Medvedev is off the hook, Thanks to the intervention of some of the most illustrious members of the Soviet Union's scientific elite, Medvedev was allowed last October to take a relatively minor job as a senior research fellow in a laboratory at an institute of the Lenin Agricultural Academics of the Control of the Cont

MIDDLE EAST

Outburst at Suez

After three days in Cairo last week consulting on Middle East peace with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home sounded an optimistic note. Douglas-Home, who had taken time out to don Arab robes and ride a camel while wisting the pyramids at Gizar, reported that his hosts were 'in a moed for perturbation of the president of the president

The fight was actually precipitated two weeks ago, when Israeli gunners shot down an Egyptian Sukhoi 7 reconnaissance plane because, they said, it had flown over Israel's fortified Bar-Lev Line on the canal's east bank. Egypt retaliated by sending SAM missiles aloft to knock down an aging SA-2 transport, which Israel said was flying several miles away from the canal. Seven men were killed when the Stratocruiser crashed in the Sinai desert, 15 miles from the waterway. Israeli Phantoms avenged them by raking Egyptian positions near the west bank with rockets. The Egyptians fired back, and on both sides of the canal ground troops were on alert.

Going Underground

A year ago, a radical guerrilla oranization called the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine brusquely commanded the world's attention by hijacking four commercial airliners and holding hundreds of passengers hostage in the blazing Jordanian desert. That taste of glory was short-lived. Determined to crush not only the P.F.L.P. but all the freewheeling guerrilla groups, King Hussein and his army chased them out of Amman and penned them in in a mountainous area near the Syrian border. Two months ago, 30,000 royal troops, mostly Bedouins, attacked again and wiped out that last guerrilla pocket. The fedayeen either surrendered to the King or fled to friendlier Arab countries. George Habash, the soft-eved physician who still leads the militantly Marxist P.F.L.P., is determined to continue the fight. In his first interview with a Western newsman since last year's hijackings, he told TIME's Gavin Scott: "We are beaten. We are having a very hard time. But from these hard times we will build a real underground."

If such remaining Arab monarchs as Hussein and Saudi Arabia's King Feisal have any say, Habash will not be building anything. The Saudi King is anxious to bring Hussein and the relatively moderate Al-Fatah guerrillas together to negotiate a modus vivendi that will allow the fedayeen to continue their hit-and-run attacks on Israel. The P.F.L.P., however, will be pointedly excluded from any such parley. "We do not care for the Reds of the Popular Front," said a Saudi leader last week.

Habash returns the compliment. In a Beirut office plastered with Man posters and such artifacts as a U.S. scal torn from the American embassy in Amman 18 months ago. Habash said Hussein and Fesial are among his targets. "Fesial is part of the enemy camp." he told Scott. "He is working for the petroleum companies. Regimes like his wan the resistance of the companies. Regimes like his wan the resistance of the companies of the companies of the companies. Regimes like his wan the resistance of the companies. We say if its more important to have the masses than to have \$5,000,000 from Sauld Arabia."

The Common Man, Habash was sharply critical of Al-Fatah Leader Yasser Arafat, not only for accepting a Saudi subsidy but also for misreading Hussein's intentions last September, "The big error," said Habash, "was that certain commando groups-I am speaking of Fatah-did not recognize that the Jordanian regime is reactionary and ordered by American imperialism. Because Jordan is Arab and because Hussein is an Arab name, they thought he would not attack. But the threat was exactly like the danger we face from Israel. There is no difference between Hussein and Moshe Dayan.

Habash is shrewilly sensitive to popular opinion. Thus, because the P.L.P. has been widely censured for blowing up commercial jets, Habash indicated that hipckings will cease. "We are not authorized that the properties of the pr



POPULAR FRONT'S HABASH No need for money.



POLICEMEN & STUDENTS BATTLING AT TOKYO AIRPORT SITE Never before had the script called for death.

JAPAN

An End to Play-Acting

Clashes between Japanese students and police have long had the fritual quality of a classic No play. First would come the students, helmeted and frequently masked with toweks. From under a forest of red hanners, they would let go a barrage of stones for a solutation. The police, brandshipm inplushed would relating the students with exploding tearings would relating the students on both sides rigidly adhered to an unwitten law: no killing.

Last week, in the bloodiest of a long series of skirmishes over the building of Tokyo's new jetport at Narita, some of Tokyo's new jetport at Narita, some domites outset of the capital, that code was violently broken. Nearly 5,000 of farm land that were no hand to help air-tot police were on hand to help air-tot police were on hand to help air-word of farm land that were holding up the last stage of construction. The farmers were grimly determined to resist sei-zure of their ancestral tracts. So too were some 3,000 student activities.

All went pretty much according to script until a screaming band of students charged 80 policimen manning a checkpoint on a dirt road about an infrom the center of the action. Crying screen of Molotou cockalish, then worked over the cops with steel pipes, bamboo staves and mail-studded sticks. Some of the riot police, who do not carry gums in Japan, fled. But 30 were left slumped and bleeding on the ground. Three scon was the start of the start of the start and the very with shattered skells.

The rest of the riot police tore into the students. At one point they used a giant crane to pull down a 35 ft. "Fighting Spirit Tower" that had been erected by the rebels. The tower toppled in a burst of flames, carrying a handful of students and a cache of fire bombs with it. At least two of the demonstrators were hideously burned. In the face of

the riot squads, the farmers withdrew; next day their land was leveled by bulldozers. The final toll: three policemen dead, 159 police and students injured. The outlook for future demonstrations, including one set for next week against Emperor Hirohito's trip to Europe: no more play-acting by the police.

SOUTH VIET NAM The Mood Turns Violent

The first week of South Viet Nam's presidential election campaign started off quietly enough. Supporters of President Support Van Thieu, now the sole candidate in the Oct. 3 elections, blannadard of the Committee of the Committ

In a dinner interview with foreign correspondents. Thie confidently discounted Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky's threats of a com settle angust this govtheration of the control of the consident, he did dispatch an aide to Washnigton to urge that the Nixon Adminsitration cut off economic and military aid to force pestponement of the oneman presidential race. U.S. diplomats over the ne-contest race.

over the no-contest race. Frantic Calls, The calm proved shortlived. In what became the most violent week in Saigno since the 1968 Te offensive, scores of antigovernment and antimation of the state of the state of the state to the state of the state of the state to the state of the state forcers (McGovern, a presidential candidate and vigorous opponent of the war, arrived at a Saignor church to attend a meeting of a prison reform committee.

Minutes after the group had gathered,

rocks ripped through the church windows and fire bombs exploded eight motorcycles and a Jeep. McGrovern and his aides took cover in the church office, but it required three frantic calls to the U.S. embassy, one of them to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, before American MPs rescued the Senator,

Next day the Saigon police chief confirmed what many had already suspected: most of the mob outside the church had been government militiamen. In a crude attempt to justify the attack, he said that McGovern had been urwittingly meeting with "Vitet Cong agents." The Senator's demand for an apology from Thiew went coldly unheeded.

Measure of Distrust. The violence quickly escalated. The following night, the popular Tu Do nightclub was blown up with a 15-bb, plastique charge. Killing 15 and wounding 57. Though the artack appeared to be the work of Viet Cong terrorists, it was a measure track appeared to which Theu is now held that some might even have engineered that their reasoning: any terrorist attack would be blamed on the Viet Cong thereby strengthening Thieux anti-Communist stand and silencing such antivar critics as McGovern.

In the days that followed. Thiesizy promise to give the opposition care blanche to hold meetings and the press a free hand in covering them was shown to be hollow at best. First, police moved to be the properties of the properti



McGOVERN SURVEYS BOMBED NIGHTCLUB

No appologies.

and firing tear-gas grenades at them. Thieu's apparent determination to

quash every manifestation of opposition does not bode well for a peaceful election. Since he is widely viewed as a puppet of the U.S., opposition against him has increasingly focused on the American presence. Last week at least nine U.S. vehicles were burned, causing the Australian army to order that bright red kangaroo stickers be placed on their vehicles to distinguish them from American ones. The U.S. military command conceded that it might be forced to confine American G.I.s to their bases for their own safety.

BRITAIN

The Red-Faced League

It should have been elementary, but it did not turn out that way. Just a short stroll from 221B Baker Street, London, where Sherlock Holmes once dwelt, a bold gang broke through the floor of a closed handbag shop, dug a 40ft, tunnel, and cut through two feet of concrete into a vault containing about 1,000 safe-deposit boxes in Lloyds Bank at 185 Baker Street. It was a case similar to the episode in which Holmes captured two tunneling bank crooks in A. Conan Doyle's The Red-Headed League -"a three-pipe problem," as Dr. Watson would have called it. But although policemen could actually hear the reallife heist taking place over a ham operator's receiver, they took nearly 36 hours to locate the scene of the crime. By then, the thieves had made off with at least \$500,000 in valuables.

Short-Wave Sherlock. The first clue that something was afoot came late on a Saturday night two weeks ago. In an apartment on Wimpole Street, no more than half a mile from the bank, a ham radio operator named Robert Rowlands twirled the dials of his receiver to 27.15 megacycles. He quickly realized that he



"Hi folks-this is Radio Hoodlum with record requests and running commentary from another bank vault somewhere in London . . .

had accidentally tuned in on an exchange between bank robbers. They were communicating via two-way radio sets with their lookout, who was posted on the roof of a high building near by. But when Rowlands telephoned the local police station, he got only a polite and skeptical response.

Over the next two hours, the shortwave Sherlock continued to monitor and tape what he heard. The thieves in the vault were apparently worried that the fumes from their heavy-duty cutting torches would alert security guards, and they wanted to knock off for the night. Said one of the gang: "Look, the place is filled with fumes where we was cutting. And if the security come in and smell the fumes, we are all going to take stoppo and none of us have got nothing. Whereas this way we have all got 300 grand to cut up when we come back in the morning.

The lookout, however, complained that his eyes were "like organ stops" from "using bins [cockney slang for binoculars] all night" and wanted to complete the job. "I suggest we carry on tonight, mate, and get it done with," he said. "I'm not going to be any good to-morrow morning." Besides, he added, "money is not my god this much." The lookout was overruled and the gang -four or five men and a woman -caught some sleep while Rowlands tried to get the police to listen to him.

Sensitive Equipment, Eventually a local policeman called on Rowlands, but he left unconvinced. Then came a second officer, and Rowlands asked him to turn off his walkie-talkie so that the thieves' taped conversations could be heard more clearly. Soon four other constables and a sergeant closed in on Rowlands' flat, fearful that their mate might be having his "head kicked in" because they could not reach him on his walkietalkie. The six policemen left Rowlands to his monitoring and took no action

Desperate, Rowlands called Scotland Yard in the morning. A sergeant and a constable from the Yard spent two hours ponderously copying extracts from the tapes in longhand and dictating them over the phone; two other Yard detectives soon arrived to listen in. During this farce, one of the burglars could be heard saying: "Everything is going well." Not until 12:20 p.m. on Sunday, an incredible 13 hours after Rowlands first tuned in on the heist, did the gang permanently go off the air.

It was another 40 minutes before a detective inspector appeared at Rowlands' overcrowded flat with a post office radio engineer, whose sensitive equipment could have located the site of the transmissions. But the radio was now dead, Finally, police began checking hundreds of banks throughout London. They even stood outside the time-locked vault at Lloyds, but did not bother to obtain official permission to open it because it appeared to be undisturbed.

On Monday morning, there was a redfaced league of policemen when Lloyds



officers opened the vault to discover that about 250 safe-deposit boxes had been looted; one of them alone was missing \$50,000 in jewelry. Scotland Yard officials sheepishly ordered an inquiry into the laggardly sleuthing. They also sent squads out looking for the gang, declaring confidently that they recognized some of the thieves' voices from the had been apprehended. A four- or fivepipe problem, perhaps?

NORTHERN IRELAND

A Massive Wedge

Ever since a militant faction of the Irish Republican Army stepped up its terrorism in Northern Ireland early this summer, a broad-scale Protestant backlash has been building in the British province. Earlier this month, 1,000 former B Specials, the Protestant police auxiliary disbanded on British orders two years ago, met to urge that the group be reorganized and rearmed. A few days later, 20,000 Belfast workers roared their approval of right-wing demands for a Protestant "third force

Last week Ulster's Prime Minister Brian Faulkner moved to try to bring the backlash under control. First he persuaded the British to remove the 6,000-man limit on the Ulster Defense Regiment, a provincial militia. Then he announced that units of the reorganized regiment will be deployed to rural areas where Protestants have felt unprotected from I.R.A. raiders. The British army, in the meantime, decided to rearm part of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a predominantly Protestant police force whose

arms were replaced with truncheons after the rioting two years ago

Ulster's Protestant hard-liners were not appeased. Former Home Affairs Minister William Craig condemned the Prime Minister's moves as a "useless bluff, designed to prevent the restoration of an effective security force." Faulkner came under equally bitter criticism from Ulster's Catholics (who constitute about one-third of Northern Ireland's 1,500,-000 population). He announced that 219 of the Catholics who were interned without trial last month would be held indefinitely, while a mere 14 would be released, "Detention," declared the independent Belfast Telegraph, "has driven a massive wedge between the two sections of the community.

Indeed it had. In a week of increasing violence, four more British soldiers and one policeman were killed by gunmen. Protestant youths hurled fire bombs into a bus carrying handicapped Catholic schoolchildren, three of whom were hospitalized with burns. Another crowd set fire to a Catholic school, and a Catholic mob exploded a bomb outside a

Protestant youth club.

FRANCE

Communist Funfest Long plagued by an image of gray sto-

lidity, the French Communist Party has lately been going all out to acquire a more human look. The party newspaper, L'Humanité, has taken to dressing up its dreary polemics with color pictures for weekend editions. The staid old Paris Communist headquarters, with its fortress-like steel doors, has been abandoned for a new glass-fronted building, designed by Brazilian Communist-sympathizer Oscar Niemeyer, architect of Brasília. But nowhere has the new look been more evident than in the party's annual Festival of Humanity.

Capitalist Showcase, Since 1966 the two-day fete had been held annually in Paris' leafy Bois de Vincennes. Last spring, however, the Gaullist-dominated Paris city council withdrew permission for use of the park on the grounds that the fair was too disruptive to strollers. The Communist mayor of La Courneuve, in Paris' northern suburbs, quickly came to the rescue, offering 116 acres of parkland for the festival. More than 600,000 fairgoers, including such celebrities as Actress Melina Mercouri, braved intolerable traffic snarls to reach the site. Once there, bourgeois families crowded shoulder to shoulder with party sympathizers wearing Vietnamese coolie hats or sporting FREE ANGELA DAVIS buttons while walking along Ho Chi Minh and Karl Marx avenues.

Mostly it was nonpolitical fun, with innumerable flea-market stalls, 350 restaurant-cafés, a huge motorcycle rally, ice follies, fireworks, the Paris Opera Ballet and the Soviet Navy Chorus. The festival also featured what may well have been the year's best pop concert, with appearances by The Soft Machine and



ACTRESS MELINA MERCOURI (KNEELING) WITH PARTY OFFICIALS



SINGER JOAN BAEZ PERFORMING

Singer Joan Baez. Shoppers could look over everything from hams, furniture, suits and house trailers to computers from IBM, Burroughs and Control Data. Computers? Certainly, Communists control 1,100 of France's 38,000 municipalities and, like mayors of more conservative stripe, they are rapidly turning to computers to help ease their administrative burdens. As the conservative newspaper Le Figaro noted: "This fiesta of socialism is a showcase for capitalism.

Horsecarts and Hypocrites. In fact, the fair offered politics as well as ponimes frites. Hulking busts of Lenin sold for \$4.50. There was a 15-hour marathon in the central committee tent where party leaders held political discussions with all comers. A horse-drawn street theater had a cart full of guillotinebound "Communards" hurling defiance at costumed cavalrymen; the purpose was to commemorate the 1871 Paris Commune, which controlled the city for 71 days before its primitive brand of Communism was crushed by troops,

Zim Lines, the Israeli shipping firm, was expelled because its booth advertised tourism in Arab territories now occupied by Israel, Although Singer Joan Baez was paid her usual fee and won applause for talking about her "pacifist-anarchist" views, she eventually announced



ROLLER COASTER AT LA COURNEUVE Politics and pommes frites.

that she regretted having performed for the party. It seems she learned that the Communists, anxious to win votes by looking respectable, had resoundingly denounced France's 1968 student upheavals, of which she heartily approved. Said Baez: "The French Communist Party has done some very lousy things." She would not sing for it again, she said, "because it makes me a hypocrite.

For all the polemics, the predominant atmosphere of the West's largest proletarian festival was decidedly bourgeois. The take from the fair, which is divided between the central party, L'Humanité, and local cells, totaled more than \$4,000,000 in 1970, and attendance at this year's funfest was up 20%, Money, after all, helps make the party competitive in the electoral market, and the Communist share of France's vote generally runs 20% or even higher.



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PEOPLE

"There are some indications that he broke every rule in the book," boomed a loudspeaker, "But he broke some before they were on the books. In fact, there is evidence that the rules got on the books because of him." After that introduction, Lieut. General Jimmy Doolittle, now 74, whose record of rule breaking includes acrobatics at low altitudes, landing at a closed airport and buzzing a New Jersey gun club, was awarded honorary membership in the Air Line Pilots Association. At the ceremonies, Airman Doolittle, who became a hero in the 1942 raid on Tokyo, swapped tales with Astronaut Frank Borman, and offered two definitions learned during his harrowing experiences in the skies: "Anxiety," said Doolittle, "is something generated by a feeling that you might not succeed. Fear is something else -that's what you feel when you're in an inextricable position."

"The beauty of bowling," explained President Richard M. Nixon to reporters in the Executive Office Building, "is that it takes very little time, it's very claim 3,000,000 were saved. My position would be different were I not considered the political successor of Hitler."

"That's the way mothers are," said licuit. Jay lennings, an armored cavalry officer stationed in Viet Nam. "I don't agree with vour mother on exerything?" Leut. Jennings had reason to be defensive. His mother is Morthe Mirhell, Joquatious wife of Attorney General John Mirhell, "My identity air ways catches up with me," complained that the properties of the properties of the trac hashand. Clyde Jennings. "When they find out who I am, I get state from the things she says, I have to show a great deal of humility."

"The Tupamaros looked like Ku Klan men in their masks," recladed British Ambassador to Uruguay Sir Geoffrey Jackson, just released after spending eight months as a captive of the urban guerrillas. "They would have killed me, certainly, at any moment if there had been an at-



VISCOUNT LINLEY & LADY SARAH
Distinctive.

snapped by their father Lord Snowdon, who is known professionally as Photographer Antony Armstrong-Jones.

When the red warning light flashed on the instrument panel of the Iraeli airforce helicopter, one passenger had good reason to be alarmed. Said Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who suffered a broken back in a 1964 plane crash: "I've ken back in a 1964 plane crash: "I've the proper carrying the Senator and wife Joan Kennedy to a meeting with Defense Minister Moshe Doyen made a safe emergency landing on a beach south of Tel Aviv, giving the Kennecollect sea shells. Said the unflustered Joan: "It's nice to have the unexpected privacy."





RICHARD NIXO

good for the stomach museles, and it doesn't cost much." Then the Chief Executive stepped up and let fly with his custom-made, personally monogrammed, 15-lb. ball—which rolled straight into the gutter. Undaunted, Nx-on changed lanes and tried again, clean-thy picking off all ten pins. "Let all political writers note," he declared, "that I did it in the right lane."

Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, 80, who is well remembered for his short-lived stint as Chief of State in Germany after Adolf Hilder, death, is not happy about his place in history. Interviewed in the German magazine Die Welt, the semi-deaf "Big Lion" of the Nazi war fleet talked about what he considers his real action possibilities." I was able to propilitiesters: "I was able to propilitiesters." I was able to propilitiesters." I was able to propilitiesters. "I was able to propilitiesters." I was able to propilitiesters." I was able to propilitiesters. I was able to propilitiesters. I was able to propilitiesters. I was able to propilities to the state of the state

tempt at rescue." Yet Sir Geoffrey insisted that he "never for a minute" felt that he had been abandoned by 'dear old H.M.G." (Her Majesty's Government). His room was uncomfortable: "I slept on polyfoam padding, which was damp and after a while stank. I had a Th. by work also spiders there." Still, the ambassador emerged from his long confinement in relatively good health. Then why was his voice so hoarse? Explained Sir Geoffrey: "I have picked up what I can only describe as a blessed English cold."

Like many other children going to school, Lady Sarah, 7, and David Viscount Linley, 9, wore brand-new uniforms and posed proudly for the camera. There was something distinctive about their photograph, however. It was



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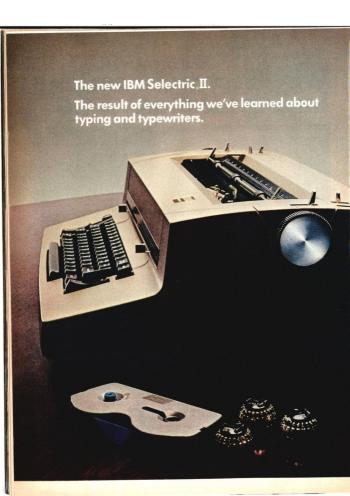
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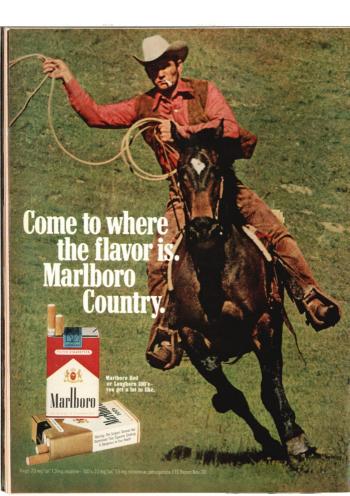
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THE PRESS

The Last Look

They gathered in small groups, making a few my jokes and drinking Bloody Marrys provided by a sympathetic former associate. There were kisses and handshakes of farewell, a lot of forced laughter and a few tears. "Twe been conditioned for this," admitted not Look editor." "I'm sorry but not surprised," said another. The news had been long runored, but it still came as a shock last week when Gardner ("Mike") Covies, Look's creator and "Publicy" Covies, Look's creator and the magazine would cease publication with its Oct. 19 Susc.

"When it came time to make this decision," Cowles sadly told a press conference at the New York Hilton Hotel. "I thought back over Look's 35 years of constructive, responsible and awardwinning journalism and my heart said 'Keep it going.' But my head said 'Suspend it,' and there was really no other way." Ironically, he added, reader response to subscription offers has recently been the best in Look's history. "Now, at the end," Cowles lamented, "we have the most interested and best educated audience we have ever had. We tried to be serious without being solemn, entertaining without being frivolous, angry without being bitter, and hopeful without being complacent. And generally, I believe, we succeeded."

Bad News, Though rising costs, a depressed economy and competition from television for consumer advertising all hurt, Cowles cited a planned secondclass postal rate increase as the final crusher that forced him to fold the flagship of Cowles Communications Inc. The proposed new rates would more than double mailing costs for all U.S. magazines, and would have sent Look's postal bill rocketing from \$4,000,000 to \$10 million in five years. Cowles called the increase "unconscionably high and a complete reversal of U.S. postal policy since the days of Benjamin Franklin, who felt that the cost of transporting magazines and newspapers should always be kept low. The postal rate increases were the one thing that impelled us to act now.'

Others agreed that magazines in general were threatened. Publisher William Attwood of Newsday, who served Look as a writer, correspondent and editor for 16 years, called the magazine's demise "a real tragedy" and declared that "the Government is making it harder and harder for magazines to survive. Said Board Chairman Andrew Heiskell of Time Inc.: "It is always bad news for this country when a responsible journal is forced to close down. It is particularly bad news when that development is in part engendered by an arm of the Government-in this case the postal service, which has already taken the first step in raising secondclass mail rates to irresponsibly high levels."



COWLES AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT Head over heart.

stories from Washington, and became steadily more concerned with critical national issues. It ran a memorable Elliott Roosevelt interview with Stalin in 1947 and produced solid special issues on "The South v. the Supreme Court' in 1956 and "The Blacks and the Whites" in 1969. Look stories on Viet Nam and poverty in the U.S. were often timely and dramatic. Despite strong objections from the Kennedy family, it serialized William Manchester's controversial The Death of a President in 1967. Look also ran extracts from William Shirer's The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich and helped make it a bestseller. It had planned to run an excerpt from Lyndon Johnson's memoirs this

Despite reader loyalty, Look dipped into the red in 1969 after 21 straight years of profitability. Losses deepened last year, and as of last week exceeded

\$10 million. Cowles had said of Look only a year ago that "I'd sell every-thing to keep it going," and went far to-ward doing just that. He killed Long Island's deficit-ridden Suffolk Sun in 1969 and, only this spring, Venture. the company's travel magazine; sold the San Juan Star to Scripps-Howard and Cowles Comprehensive Encyclopaedia to the Los Angeles Times-Mirror Co. Last year the supermarket service magazine Family Circle, the Modern Medicine professional magazine group, Cambridge Book Co. and three small Florida dailies were all sold to the New York Times, which agreed to take over \$15 million worth of Cowles indebtedness. Cowles Communications also received over 2,000,000 shares of Times stock in the deal.

Sole Survivor, Without Look, Cowles Communications retains only four radio and three television stations, a small marketing service, a three-dimensional photography venture, and a contract to produce Travel News for the American Society of Travel Agents. Cowles announced that it would sell to Time Inc. for \$2,850,000 its modern subscription center in Des Moines, Iowa. Time Inc. agreed to accept up to 20% of Look's unexpired subscriptions. The maximum limit will be 800,000 for Life, 400,000 for Time, 50,000 for Sports Illustrated and 15,000 for FORTUNE. These will not be added to the magazines' present circulations but will merely make up for normal subscription turnover, Look will also offer subscribers the choice of Reader's Digest, Ladies' Home Journal, American Home and several other magazines, selections among TIME-LIFE BOOKS, or, in certain cases, a cash refund.

in certain cases, a cash retund.

Look's departure leaves Lurg as the
Look's departure leaves Lurge-cilculation field of strongly pictorial magzaines, weekly and biveckly, that once
also included Collier's (folded in 1956)
In Manhattan, some publishing and adverising people felt Look's departure
simply underlined Lurk's problems; othcollection of the colling of the colling of the
Cowles said. "The future of Lure is
very, very good," and predicted that
Lure would do "extremely well."

About 260 editorial and advertising employees of Look will lose their jobs. along with 800 subscription personnel in Des Moines. Their severance pay will total over \$3,000,000. Though Look is dead, Cowles, 68, remains a major figure in publishing. He is still president of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, where he started his journalism career in 1925, and a director of the New York Times by virtue of his corporation's large stock holdings in the paper. He also owns outright two small Florida papers in Leesburg and Pa-latka, "We have no intention of liquidating Cowles Communications," he said firmly last week. "The corporation is in sound condition and we have many options open to us for the future.



Before you look at their nev

Now that new car time is upon us, gosh knows, we hate to be the ones to spoil all the fun. After all, what's more exciting than taking the family down to

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mobiles that seemingly just yesterday were showroom stars Which is why we suggest a trip to the junkyard before decide to put a new car in your own yard.



ones, look at their old ones.

And why we suggest that that new car be a Volkswagen. For while we can't promise you how long one will last, we an tell you that over 13 million Volkswagens are still on the

And when one drops out, even then it's not always destined O be dropped in a pile. For old Volkswagens have a habit of becoming other things: Like new dune buggys.

All in all, we owe it all to a decision we made 24 years ago: To spend very little time making our little car look

better. And a great deal of time making it work better. So far, that one decision has kept us out of a lot of trouble.

TELEVISION

The New Season: I

Like Jimmy Stewart said, "TV is where the action is.

-Glenn Ford

There is a massive breakdown in lawand-order that should be curbed. I wanted to contribute something that said, "Preserve the system."

-Jack Webb If this show fails, it'll be one of the great failures. -Anthony Quinn

Among them, Ford, Webb and Quinn summed up the new prime-time TV season that premièred on the three networks last week. Some of the brightest and longest-holdout stars, now caught in the twilight of Hollywood and of their own careers, swallowed their images and signed on for TV series.

Quinn's fear of failure and the problem with the season have a common source: the same old production executives, like Jack Webb, and the old writ-



ers are still in command and timorously repeating and protecting themselves. The formats and scripts, as ever, are beneath the talents of the first-rank performers now appearing on television.

As Webb pointed out, law-and-order is this season's watch-or don't watch -word. More than half of last week's new shows concerned private or public eves, or the crusade against crime. Even Larry White, an NBC programming vice president, confesses that the proportion represents "an overdose." But there are a few potentially diverting series and a few harbingers of reform.

This story examines the season's new drama series. Next week TIME will review the comedy shows, hoping that some of them will have grown funnier by then.

THE PERSUADERS (ABC), "I'm Brett to my friends, but you may call me darling. Lady Brett Ashley speaking? No, Lord Brett Sinclair (Roger Moore, TV's engaging former Saint), who is the Oxbridge playboy half of The Persuaders. His co-persuader is Danny Wilde, a newrich high roller from The Bronx (Tony Curtis), and the two of them womanize and swashbuckle around the Côte d'Azur "in the name of justice." For all their jet-set airs, their plebeian repartee and

^o The season's most dramatic departure is the Federal Communications Commission's "prime-time access" rule, which in effect requires the networks to turn back one nightly half hour to their local stations (TIME, March 29). But the impact of that rule will not be known for several weeks, or, ultimately, until next season when its provisions will be fully



FRANCISCUS AS LONGSTREET

stupefying plots make Roger and Tony emerge more like Batman and Robin in ascots. Catch the show fast lest the Nielsen ratings get there first.

CADE'S COUNTY (CBS). Glenn Ford, an earlier choice for the Tony Curtis part in The Persuaders, fortuitously turned it down, he says, "because that would have meant traveling a year." Instead, Ford is making his TV debut in Cade's County as a sheriff in the contemporary Southwest. In the première, the plotting was raw, but the dialogue and new TV Star Ford proved uncommonly authoritative.

CANNON (CBS). This is another slice of Dashiell Ham, with William Conrad featured as a high-priced private investigator. The first episode, involving armed robbery of a rodeo box office, was unconvincing and, in the end, embarrassingly sentimental. Conrad himself, who resembles a cross between Orson Welles and Walter Cronkite, is a screen-crowding presence with a pomegranate voice enriched by eleven years as radio's Matt

THE D.A. (NBC) and O'HARA, UNITED STATES TREASURY (CBS), Fingerprints are unnecessary to detect the sledgehammer hand of Executive Producer Jack Webb behind these two. The dogged prosecutor in The D.A. is Robert Conrad (no kin to William). David Janssen (The Fugitive) is the T-man in O'Hara, relentlessly rooting out traffickers in contraband armaments, moonshine and, in the crudely crafted première, what he calls "happy sugar" (heroin)

NBC MYSTERY MOVIE. This is a catch-all title for three 90-minute miniseries that will play in alternate weeks. Last week's curtain raiser of the trilogy, Columbo, with Peter Falk in the title role, sounded like a chronicle of some kind of Kosher Nostra; but Falk was in fact a disheveled. runty, squint-eyed detective lieutenant who ferreted out a murderer like a Roto-Rooter. This week the series rotates into a McCloud segment, picking up an element of one of last season's few new engaging series, with Dennis Weaver as a lasso-swinging New Mexico sheriff on loan to the New York City police. Next week comes the third and most awaited part of the trilogy, a Mr. and Mrs. Northtype entertainment called McMillan & Wife. Wife is Susan Saint James, late of The Name of the Game. McMillan, who happens to be the police commissioner of San Francisco, is Rock Hudson.

BEAPCATSI (CBS) Rod Taylor and Peter Cole are freelance adventurers circuiting through the tireless waste of the Southwestern desert in one of the first Stutz Bearcats seen in them thar parts. Their first quarry was a surplus World War I tank deployed by a band of bank-busting desperadoes. Taylor steers through it all with a lack of conviction that, considering the script and whole production, is entirely justifiable.

THE MAN AND THE CITY (ABC). The city is probably Albuquerque, and the man (Anthony Quinn) is a slum-bred Mexican Irish American who became a mayor. The concept was promising until Executive Producer David Victor (Marcus Welby, M.D.) blew it, downplaying the politics and turning the series into what the trade calls' heart drama." Now a social worker battling for causes like, in the première, the rights of a deaf couple to keep their adopted child. Who needs a TV mayor with the sex appeal of Schard Daley, the political clout of John Lindsay and a heart as big as all OWEN MASSHAL, COUNSEIGE AT JAM (ABC).

Producer David Victor also spun off this series, which is basically just Marcus Welby, J.D. Marshall, played by distinguished Actor Arthur Hill, is a Samaritan barrister and, like Welby, has a young hotspur assistant (Lee Majors) to do the dirty work. What he seeks in his shows, says Victor, "is drama that has a way of striking hard at the emotions with a retentive hangover." What LONGSTREET (ABC). This is another clutch at the heart, with James Franciscus (Mr. Novak) in the title role as a blind insurance investigator. The dialogue wallows in his affliction, but Longstreet asks no quarter. In the première, he becomes an expert in the ancient, supposedly Cantonese-style karate called "Jett kune do." and pummels the roughest goon on the out a \$1,000,000-a-month hijacking racket. In the end, warming up for future episodes, Longstreet takes to the pistol range. His score: two heart shots, two gut shots and, quips an associate, "two inno-

The handicapped detective is not exactly new. Last week the most established of them all, NBC's Ironside, the wheelchaired chief inspector played by Raymond Burr, teamed in a two-hour movie to introduce and presumably build the ratings for SARGE (also NBC). Sarge is a longtime homicide detective who turned priest in his 40s-and does anyone remember G.K. Chesterton's Father Brown? The series, says its formidable star, George Kennedy, "is more cop oriented than priest oriented." In every crunch during the teaser episode with Ironside, Kennedy shucked his eassock and got into a sports shirt.

cent bystanders.

The collaboration of Ironside and Sarge points up two other runaway trends of the new season. One is the cross-pollination of network stars. ABC is pushing the gimmick to the limits, arranging for a call on Nanny and the Professor by Sportscaster Howard Cosell. The other big push is toward made-for-TV movies. They will run three or four nights a week this year, and before the season is out, some 125 will be shown. Some trade observers see this so-called "long form," any drama program running 90 minutes or more, as the salvation of the medium. Of course, as they used to say on television, "it's not how long you make it, but how you make it long

Richard Burgheim

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September 16, 1971

SPORT

Suddenly Last Summer

"Strange things," says Los Angeles Dodger Shorstop Maury Wills, "happen in September." Wills should know. As a 13-year veteran, he has helped the Dodgerm of the same street. This year, though, promised to be different. Off to their fastest start in a deede, the Giants led the National League's Western Division by first five months of the season. Now in September, some strange things, like a Dodger streak and a Giant slump, make it look like the California version of Suddenly Last Summer all

Lost Momentum. The big showdown occurred last week when the Dodgers met the Giants for the last time this season in a two-game series at Candlestick Park. In the first game, the slap-hitting Dodgers uncharacteristically clouted three home runs to outlast the Giants 5-4. In the process a disputed call and a near free-for-all over an exchange of beanballs resulted in two players from each team being thrown out of the game. Next night, the Giants rebounded long enough to take a 5-3 lead into the ninth inning. Then some more strange things, a broken-bat single, a blooper over second and a bunt, loaded the bases for the Dodgers. Then Leftfielder Manny Mota connected for a bases-clearing double and a 6-5 victory for Los Angeles.

After watching the Giants' once commanding lead cut to one slim game, Manager Charlie Fox seemed all but spooked. "How in God's name could they be so lucky?" he exclaimed. "They win with broken-bat hits, handle hits, bunts just barely out of reach, hits off the end of the bat, balls that hit the rim of the Astroturf carpet and hop funny. But luck has got to come back to us now. It's impossible for things to continue going the way they have for them." Not necessarily. The Dodgers of late have been making their own breaks, with Wills, Mota, Centerfielder Willie Davis and Third Baseman Rich Allen delivering key hits in game after game. The Giants, on the other hand, with Pitchers Gaylord Perry and Juan Marichal off their early-season form and the team batting a woeful .163 during their current losing streak, seem to have lost their momentum

Humiliating Prospect. At week's end, after the Gians suffered their 11th defeat in their last twelve games, Fox could only moon: "Will someone please tell me how to shake an entire team out of a batting slump?" If no one does and those strange September things keep happening, the Giants face out of our the exch. time in the past seven seasons.



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GII SYLVANIA

A Man Named Smith

"This will be the wide-open Open," announced Billy Talbert, director of the U.S. Open Tennis Championships at Forest Hills, N.Y. If he sounded like a carny barker trying to hypo the gate, it was understandable. Partly because of the wearying pro v. amateur power struggle that has long plagued tennis, six of the top professionals —Rod Laver, Ken Rosewall, Roy Emerson, Fred Stolle, Cliff Drysdale and Andres Gimeno-declined to enter the tournament, Margaret Court Smith, the defending women's champion, could not come because she is pregnant. Wimbledon Champ Evonne Goolagong, the 20-year-old Australian aborigine sensation, said she had decided to take a rest. Then, in the first round, unseeded Jan Kodes of Czechoslovakia eliminated



SMITH AT FOREST HILLS His racket does the talking.

another big name when he upset topseeded John Newcombe. After that Chris Evert, the 16-year-old schoolgrif who captured the fancy of the fans, got spanked 6-3, 6-2 by top-seeded Billie Jean King in the semifinals. Then the rains came, delaying play and dissipating interest. For all its vicissitudes, though, the 1970 LS, Champion Jack Kramer pronounced "a new superstar."

Serene Smosher, Stan Smith, a lanky, mustachioed blond, became the second American in 16 years to win the U.S. title. At 24, and playing the best tension of his career, he has defeated most of the world's top players. In Tokyo in December, he knocked off

* The other is Arthur Ashe, the 1968 U.S. Open winner.

both Laver and Rosewall to win the Grand Prix Masters. Two months ago in London, he bested Newcombe to win the Queen's Club Open, then came within a few shots of beating him again two weeks later in a furious five-set finals match at Wimbledon. At the U.S. Open, while Players Clark Graebner and Dennis Ralston were calling the officials "witoric" and "ridication of the court, and abusive language on the court, Smith went serenely on his way, de-molishing everyone he met. "Stan," says his doubles partner, Erik Van Dil-

len, "talks with his racket."

Last week his racket was shouting as he met Kodes in the finals. Though the volatile Czech possesses one of the strongest service returns in the game, he was no match for Smith's cannonball. By contrast, Kodes' weak second serve

allowed Smith to hit sizzling, deep returns, then charge the net where he was virtually impenetrable. That was the difference as the two players went into a sudden-death tie breaker with Smith leading two sets to one. Needing five out of a possible nine points to win, Smith was down 3-1 when he connected on a pair of crackling crosscourt shots. After Kodes missed a forehand return. Smith put everything into a big serve that the Czech was lucky to bloop back. Smith put the ball away with an overhead smash to win the tie breaker and the match 3-6, 6-3, 6-2, 7-6

New-Found Speed. Though Smith has been playing tennis for a decade, he is a relative newcomer to the big-time pro circuit. Gawky as a youngster (at 14, he was once rejected as a ball boy for fear he might trip over his size-13 sneakers and get in the way of the players), of the country's top doubles team —with Bob Lutz, his partner at the University of Southern

California. To become a topflight singles player, Smith needed to speed up his ability to cover the court. "I was a high jumper in high school, not a runner," he says. Nonetheless, after putting himself through a daily regimen of exercises and wind sprints, he says. "I'm now nearly as fast as Pancho Gonzales, who's still the fastest big man playing tennis."

Last year, capitalizing on his newfound speed, he won S97,251. This season, however, he is Pfc. Smith and, in return for the Army's allowing him to play in selected tournaments, he Davis Cup Fund. Last week, Smith had no regrets about donating his \$15, 00 purse to the fund. Scheduled to be discharged in December 1972, he where that came from.

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Talk about an identity crisis! The moving man has been called a gorilla by so many people it's a wonder he still tries to be human. And more wonder, too, that people still allow this so-called gorilla to determine the value of their household goods. Do you know what you get if the move out of state? Skty veem to move out of state? Skty veem poon Under the rules, that's the full liability the moving company has on any article.

But don't be too disheartened. There are new government regulations that spell out exactly how to get full coverage for damage or loss. And how generally to protect yourself and your household goods.



Lyon is offering to send you a free copy of these regulations. And you should take up the offer. Because it could save you a lot of money the next time you move. For example, when

you move out of state, there are several rules regarding the moving company's liability for damage or loss. You may decide to declare the lump sum value of your entire shipment. And this value cannot be pounds. Which means, if your shipment weighs 4,000 pounds, the lump sum value would be \$5,000 (\$1.25 x 4,000 pounds). Of course, you can declare more value if you decide your goods are worth more. In either case, the moving company will either case, the moving company will either to see the proportion of the pro

These new interstate rules also tell you how to make a claim for damage or loss. What to do when you think the bill is too high. How to arrange firm delivery dates. And who is responsible for delays in delivery.

Lyon has representatives in all 50 states. Simply look in the phone book and call your nearest Lyon agent. Ask for a copy of the various regulations governing your move whether within or out of state. There's no obligation.

You're probably wondering why Lyon, a moving company, would want you to know these new regulations. For a very simple reason. Lyon feels the more you know about the new rules that protect you, the more you'll want to let Lyon guard your goods.

LYON MOVING · STORAGE LYON VAN LINES, INC.

MUSIC

"Who Wants Parsifal in the Morning?"

NCE he was the entant terrible of French music who did not scruple to assert the Paris Opera was full of dung. These days, Pierre Boulez is no less sure of his opinions. But he is somewhat more temperate in expension, the work of the control of the New York Philharmonic begins this week. Over the coming year he will certainly sales, if he has his way, somewhat change the whole direction

of American symphonic life. In the nation's concert halls the sound of trouble -financial, artistic, moral, spiritual-is growing louder every day. The New York Philharmonic is not a conspicuous example. With a safe home in Manhattan's Lincoln Center and an enis hardly in mortal peril. But its officers-President Carlos Moseley, Board Chairman Amyas Ames-have seen the need to face change and the future. Boulez is the result. A relative newcomer to the international conducting ranks, he is also largely untried in the familiar repertory of late 18th century and 19th century staples, so that his ascendancy poses a calculated risk. His predecessor, the universal Leonard Bernstein. coaxed the orchestra and its program well into the 20th century. If such progress is to continue, Boulez is

definitely the man to lead the way. He combines Gallic charm with acerbic wit. As a working musician, he practices remarkable exactness and discipline. As a bachelor of 46, he is free to rise at 5 each morning to compose, and he often holds work meetings in his apartment at 8, thereafter running through as many as three rehearsals during the day. Boulez's mastery of conducting the modern repertory-from Debussy and Stravinsky to Webern and Olivier Messiaen-is untouchable. Next week he will start taking small groups of instrumentalists to Greenwich Village to proselytize among the hip young (TIME, Feb. 22). He also intends to devote two series of programs to the music of Liszt and Berg, both of whom he feels are essential to the understanding of contemporary music. Beyond that, on various subjects, as TIME Music Critic William Bender discovered in an interview last week:

WASHINGTON'S NEW KENNEDY CENTER. The tendency of people who have reached a certain level of culture is to preserve that level. But to spend \$70 million to make such an old-fashioned building, this is for me really a great puzzle.

THE MUSICAL MASTERPIECE. I think it would be better if people worried less about masterpieces and more about new directions and what is actually going on. Too often they want to discover in one evening the work that will be recognized as a masterpiece in the 21st cen-

THE PHILHARMONIC'S PIERRE BOULEZ CONDUCTING
Gallic charm and acerbic wit.

tury. That never works. The masterpiece will always escape them.

HOW AND WHY HE CONDUCTS. I am trained as a composer, not as a conductor. For me composing is still the nucleus of expension of the composing of the new conductor. For me composing is still the nucleus of expension of the new conductor of the new conductor.

west To GMANGE. The most important thing to change is he musical life as it is now organized. We have too many specialized worlds that have no connection with each other. People who go to concerts never go to opera—they find it vulgar. People who go to chamber music rectilat never go to chamber music properties of the symphony Bender of the control of the control

are like people who are collecting stamps only from France, or only from Tanzania. That must change.

RAVI SHANKAR AND WESTERNIZED RAGAS. The kind of junk he is doing now is not at all in the true Indian tradition. It's a kind of colonialism in reverse. He was a good musician. Now he's a Neapolitan mandolin player.

Musical Evolution. History is much like the guillotine. If a composer is not the one, if he is not moving in the right direction, he will be killed, metaphorically speaking. The evolution of music, and on people who are gifted enough to universality of the property of the music provided by the provided process. You cannot ignore the historical landmarks of music. Be-

history will ignore you.

WHEN CIVILIATIONS CRUMBLE. I think we are in danger of that, at least musically. When civilization is dying, everybody is walking on tiptoe, afraid to speak, as though they were in a sick-room. What I find healthy is when everybody is strong enough not to fear replacing the old with the new. The spirit of discovery is a main feature of a very strong civilization.

STRAVINSKY, DEBUSSY, WEBERN.
They were part of my education, my growing up, but
there are certain problems
in your life which never
come twice. I have now
reached the point where I
don't need any fathers any
more.

CONCERT AUDIENCES. People cough too much, but I don't mind the coughing itself as much as I mind what it means—a failure of communication on both sides, on their side and on mine.

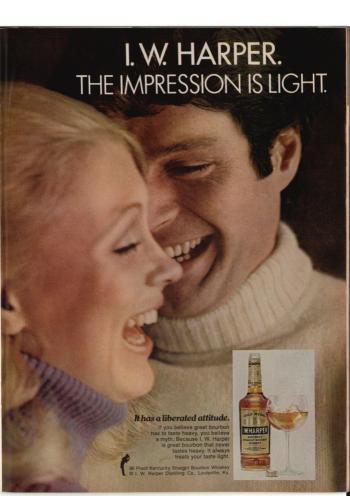
I don't want the concert to be a church. In no way am I in favor of being polite when you are not pleased. What I want is simply that the audience behave the way they would if somebody tells them something important. That and no more than that.

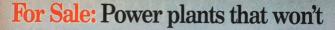
THE PLACE OF POP MUSIC. I am not territory interested in it because it is a part of everyday life, like the automobile. It is not music of discovery, but music of entertainment, and I have nothing against that. After all, you cannot brush your teeth with genius. I mean, who wants to hear Parsiful in the morning?

OPERA. The only good that could come out of the world of opera today would be an extensive study of the relationship between pure speech and pure music. I have no objection to the opera as a museum—after all, museums have their place—but I don't see any future in it.

ON HIS PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY. I couldn't.

ON HIS PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY, I couldn't possibly live without the unknown in front of me.





Yes, we're talking about nuclear power plants. Also about air pollution, thermal pollution, radioactivity—and some facts you may not know

About air pollution: with nuclear power plants, there's no smoke at all.

plants, there's no smoke at all.

As for thermal pollution: at some nuclear power plants, warm water could be a problem if ignored. But it's not being

ignored.

At least eight of the new nuclear plants will have cooling towers to send the heat up into the clouds instead of into the

stream.

At least nine nuclear plants will have cooling channels or ponds (actually these are large lakes) to reduce the heat to an acceptable level

Not to mention hundreds of scientific

studies—of how warm water may help or hinder plant and fish life. Some cover entire ecological regions and are teaching us more about our lakes, rivers and oceans.

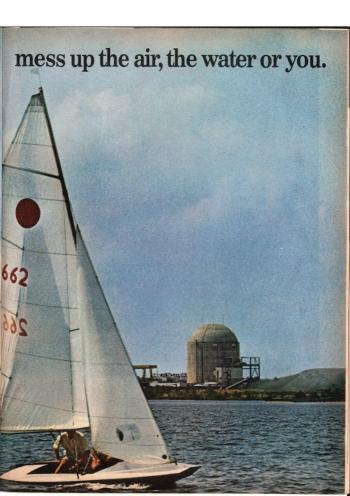
About radioactivity and you: do you know how much extra radioactivity you'd get living right next to a nuclear power plant? Only a small fraction of the natural radioactivity you'd get living in an untouched wilderness.

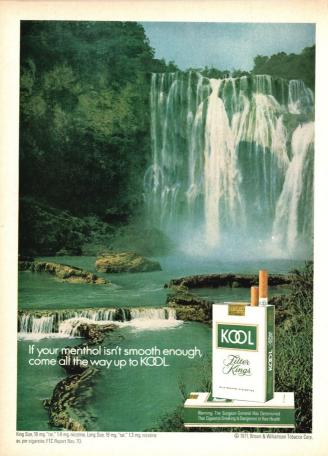
This country needs much more electric power to solve its pressing problems. That's one reason for nuclear power plants.

Nobody wants his children to inherit a messed-up world. That's a bigger reason. Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222.

You can be sure...if it's Westinghouse









WOMEN WAITING THEIR TURN AT CALIFORNIA COUNSELING SERVICE

Legal Abortion: Who, Why and Where

THE last thing that Valuda Penny wanted was a baby, Al 22, the beautiful black woman already had one child by a teen-age marriage. While separated from her husband and living with her parents in Brooklyn, working and trying to plan her future, she again became pregnant. She considered having come to be a superior to the control of the

The late procedure, which involved induced labor, was painful, "I was like to
the point of screaming, and I muffled
my screams and I muffled
my screams and I was holding on to
the table." she recalled. "It was wors
to be compared to the screaming of the scream
labor was the screaming to the scream
labor was the scream
la

Despite her distress, Valada Penny was far more fortunate than many an American woman faced with an unameter district was defined by the state of th

was eigine for steenean—tree.

Valada Penny's experience underscores both the changes and the unscores both the changes and the untion. Though the precise figure is impossible to establish, it is estimated that
up to 1,00,000 American women per
year were undergoing illegal abortions
before 1970. Some died from them,
and others suffered serious injury. Now
abortion is becoming increasingly ac-

ceptable in the U.S., though many decisions and a majority of the public disapprove of the trend. An actual count has not been completed, but the figures will probably show that in the past 15 months, 400,000 American women obtained legal abortions at hospitals and clinics. Even more are expected to take advantage of nesly liberalized laws in this development is one of the most of the mo

WHO AND WHY. The majority of those who have undergone legal operations across the country are between 20 and 30, white and single. Still, about half of the New York cases have involved married women. Hawaii authorities are now reporting requests from a growing number of older married mothers. The figures indicate that educated, middle-class women are better able, or more inclined to take advantage of the liberalized laws. But blacks, whose birth rate is 50% higher than that of whites, have recently begun to follow suit in large numbers. particularly where abortion is made easy for the poor. In New York City, blacks now undergo one abortion for every three live births, whites one for every five, Puerto Ricans one for seven.

Comparatively few who seek abortions have strictly medical reasons, such as their own health or suspected congenital abnormality in the fetus. Rape and incest account for a negligible percentage of unwanted pregnancies. Women seek legal abortions for the familiar reasons: reluctance to interrupt miliar reasons: reluctance to interrupt miliar reasons: reluctance to interrupt miliar reasons reluctance to interrupt miliar reasons in the properties of the interrupt of the properties of the properties of the high relationship with the man involved.

One of the startling facts is that despite the widespread availability of the Pill and other means of birth control, so many unwanted pregnancies happen,

even among the most educated and sophisticated. Subconsciously, many may want to become pregnant, according to Dr. Lawrence Downs, a Manhattan psychiatrist, who, in collaboration with Psychologist David Clayson, has been studying women selected at random at New York Hospital's therapeutic-abortion ward. Downs found that at least onequarter of the first 108 women studied had suffered psychiatric problems in the previous two years; more than half had lost a parent or close relative during the past year. A slim majority said that members of their families had recently undergone hysterectomies, or that they themselves had experienced gynecological disorders that led them to question their fertility. "It really makes sense for these women to become pregnant," says Downs, "It is a response to the threat of loss, a proof of fertility, and therefore of femininity."

Of course, accidents do happen, though it is usually the user rather than the contraceptive that faiis. Pills are forgotten, and diaphragus, condoms or spermicidal foam are either imprudently omitted or improperly used. LU.Ds sometimes prove ineffective. Women occasionally become pregnant while in the process of changing from one means of contraception to another.

Some states have gone far beyond

the A.L.L's model. An 18-month-old Hawaii law allows unrestricted abortion of a "nonviable" fetus for any woman own who has been a resident of the state the for 90 days; a 14-month-old Alaskab law permits abortion up to the 19th week for women who have lived in the value of the week for women who have lived in the state for a month. A Washington State law, adopted last December by voter referredum (56% to 44%), removed all restrictions on abortions through the fourth month of pregnancy.

RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT. For most women, however, obstacles are still abundant. Thirty-three states retain century-old laws making abortion a crime unless performed to save the life or, in a few instances, protect the health of the pregnant woman. In Utah, some lawyers interpret the law to hold that it may even be a crime to help a woman obtain an abortion elsewhere. Abortions are all but impossible to obtain in such states as New Jersey, Iowa and the Dakotas, difficult at best in Massachusetts, much of the South and Middle West. Women in Idaho, which has one of the toughest anti-abortion laws in the country, must cross the state line into Oregon. Women throughout the Southwest travel to California. Some go even farther. Though few women seem interested in going to Alaska, at least 500 mainlanders are known to have taken advantage of Hawaii's liberal attitude and resort atmosphere

New York's approach is the most permissive of all because it has no residency requirement (though elsewhere, the provision can often be evaded). The nation's abortion capital is now New York City, where 200,000 women have had abortions performed in the past 15 months, more than 120,000 of them from out of state. This influx has posed surprisingly few problems for the city's medical services. "Freestanding" abortion clinics, prompted by a mixture of medical free enterprise and altruism, have taken a large part of the burden from the city's established hospitals. Women rarely have to wait more than a few days for an outpatient procedure. Doctors now report that 81% of the aborted pregnancies in New York are of less than twelve weeks' duration.

Out-of-state abortion seekers are not limited to New York City. Detroit Manufacturer Martin Mitchell, for instance. has established a clinic near Niagara Falls, N.Y., and has arranged a thriceweekly charter flight to bring women there from cities in the Middle West. Others arrive by car. His venture has been booming, to the extent of 175 cases a week. Mitchell, who advertises his clinic on billboards, has even hired a plane to tow a huge airborne sign over Miami Beach. Once he planned airborne abortions, to be performed in a circling jetliner, but he could not find doctors willing to cooperate. Most women find his charge of \$400 a bargain. It includes the round-trip flight from Detroit, ground transportation to the clinic, and lunch.

Yet even in the liberal states, women are frequently forced to travel. Hospitals in some upstate New York communities still refuse to allow abortions. When the California law first took effect, hospitals in the northern part of the state were willing to go along more quickly than in relatively conservative Southern California. Kansas and Colorado have virtually identical statutes; yet an abortion is far more easily obtained in Kansas than in Colorado. Reason: Kansas courts have given doctors great leeway in evaluating the physical and psychological impact of an unwanted pregnancy; Colorado courts have given doctors there very little.

Few appreciate the problem in Colorado better than Alice Johnson, 28, a Denver schoolteacher. When she became pregnant last fall, she believed that she could easily qualify for an abortion on psychological grounds. But a psychiatrist seeking to establish justification for the abortion asked her if she would kill herself rather than have the baby, and Alice was unwilling to lie ("I was not mentally ill, just pregnant"). Without a statement that Alice's pregnancy was likely to lead to suicide, the psychiatrist felt that he might not be able to convince the hospital board, which must approve the operations, that it was necessary. Alice went to New York.

GETING INFORMATION. Lack of information makes abortion difficult for many women, and for a time provided an almost irresistible opportunity for profiteering. In New York, several dozen commercial abortion-referral services sprang up, some of them with little more equipment than a telephone. They advertised abortions as inexpensively as SIT-vised and appropriate of the size of

agencies seemed honest, but many refused to disclose their commissions. The New York State Supreme Court barred one outfit, Abortion Information Agency, from doing business; and the state legislature this summer outlawed all commercial referral agencies.

Facts and referrals are available elsewhere without charge. Planned Parenthood-World Population, one of the pioneers in the field of birth control. works through 189 affiliated organizations in 41 states and the District of Columbia. The Clergy Consultation Service, founded by 26 ministers and rabbis in New York in 1967, has expanded to include 1,200 clergymen in 31 states, Zero Population Growth Inc. has a computerized abortion-data service that includes 500 hospital and clinic listings and 300 doctors. Any woman who applies receives by mail a list of eight or ten doctors and clinics nearest her home, plus information on fees and eligibility requirements.

THE COST. Many women, particularly in the ghettos, cannot afford abortion. Though Medicaid and other assistance programs pay all or most of the costs of abortion for those who are eligible for aid, women who are just above the poverty level or who come from another state often must pay for the operations. The prices can be prohibitive. An early, hence simple, abortion in a freestanding New York City clinic such as the privately run, nonprofit Women's Services or the newly established, profit-making Parkmed, is a relative bargain. Done under local anesthetic on an outpatient basis, it costs most women \$150. The same procedure in a voluntary hospital is about \$200, and when performed in a profit-making hospital, it can cost three times as much. But women in Hawaii covered by the Kaiser plan, a major prepaid group health arrangement, will soon be able to obtain abortions for only \$40. Some other medical insurance plans





A mixture of enterprise and altruism.

pay all or part of the costs. A number of organizations also help out. While regular hospitals usually want to be paid in advance, especially if the woman is a transient, some nonprofit clinics at tempt to set terms according to need. In Seattle, the Y.W.C.A. university chapter provides living quarters and counseling for women undergoing abortions, and students at the University of Maine have set up an abortion-loan fund that subsidizes coeff trips to New York.

Once the arrangements have been made, abortion can be relatively easy. Three methods widely used are both practical and safe:

by Sallie induction, which is used between the 16th and 24th weeks of preganney, is one of the more drastic means.

A doctor inserts a needle through the parameters of most of the more drastic means of most off most of the 16th and 16th

▶ Dilatation and curettage, usually done under general anesthesia, has long been used within the first twelve weeks. The cervix, or opening of the uterus, is dilated with a series of progressively larger sounds-thin, blunt-ended metal rods. Then the uterus itself is scraped with a dull-edged curette, a small spoon-shaped instrument, until all embryonic matter has been removed. The entire procedure can take as little as 15 minutes. When it is done under local anesthesia, it sometimes produces painful cramping, but many women can return to their homes or jobs only hours after it has been performed.

Vacuum aspiration, used on most outpatients, is a new variation on the D. and C. method that makes abortion even easier. Performed only through the twelfth week of pregnancy, the operation consists of dilating the cervix, inserting a metal tube attached to a small vacuum pump and drawing off the fetal matter into a bottle. Disconfort during the five-initute operation, which often includes a quick curettage, is mininal. Pain is all but eliminated in a refinement of vacuum aspiration developed by Harvey Karman, a Los Angeles psychologist: for pregnancies of less than ten weeks' duration, doctors use a thin plastic tube that is smaller in diameter than the more commonly used cannula. This avoids the dilatation process entirely.

One great fear about abortion, among doctors and nurses as well as patients, is that a fetus will be born alive. Claims by anti-abortion groups that doctors routinely throw "screaming, wriggling bundles of humanity" into garbage cans are unfounded. But despite laws banning abortions after the 24th week, well before a fetus can survive outside the womb, "live births" do occur. The reason, often, is that the date of conception has been miscalculated or misstated by the woman. At least 40 fetuses have reportedly been born "alive" in New York. All died within hours, despite doctors' efforts to maintain life.

spite doctors' efforts to maintain life.
In general, abortion has become safer since legalization. New York State rosince legalization. New York State rosince the new law look effect, the state
has recorded only eight, or 4.8 per 100,
000 legal abortions. (The U.S. maternalmortality rate is 27.4 per 100,000 births.)
Abortion complications, which can inorrhaps and infection, are far less frequent in legal than in illegal procedures.

HOW IT FEELS. Many women find early abortions less traumatic than they had expected. Alice Johnson, who was ended to Manner the state of the state o

trol information and a tranquilizer. Then she was escorted to an operating room, where a doctor gave her a shot of No-coain; the vacuum-aspiration abortion itself, though painful, took only five mustes. After ersted in a recovery room, chatted with other young women who had undergone the same experience. "Most of us had been very tones," and we were laughing and saying we never wanted to see a man again." An hour later, she paid \$122 and left.

Most well-educated and relatively liberated' women say that they have no regrets. But many older women, and some girls who feel conflict with their religious or ethical upbrings; find the extreme the conflict with their religious or ethical upbrings; find the same properties of the conflict which was the same properties. The same properties are the same properties of the same properties and the same properties. The same properties will be same properties and the same properties and the same properties. The same properties will be same properties and relative the same properties and relative the same properties. The same properties are same properties and relative the same properties and relative the same properties. But the same properties are same properties and relative the same properties. The same properties are same properties and relative the same properties and relative the properties and relative the properties. But the same properties are same properties and relative the properties are the properties and relative the properties and relative the properties are the properties are the properties and relative the properties are the properties and relative the properties are the properties are the properties and relative the properties

A woman's reaction often depends upon her relationship with the man. Some single women say that abortion ends any affection they might have felt for the man responsible. Another factor, according to Psychoanalyst Theodor Reik, is that women may unconsciously see abortion as a man does castration.

CHANGING ATTITUDES. The setting can have a profound effect on a woman's reaction. Most of those who have illegal abortions find the experience horrilying and degrading. Women who have abortion and octors are sometimes overworked and brusque, are often unhappy too. But women who undergo early abortions in specialized outpatient clinics are far less subject to depression. Many of the clinics are staffed by young women who destrained the patients' feelings.

Two New York women demonstrate the changing-but not completely changed-attitudes. Sarah, the 47-yearold wife of a policeman and mother of four, underwent four illegal abortions years ago in order to space out the arrival of her children. She remembers the operations as sordid and painful, still has difficulty discussing them and regrets that she had to "play God with my children." Her eldest daughter. Jane. 25, an attractive college graduate married to a systems engineer, has had two abortions. Jane had an illegal out-of-state operation 16 months ago because she wanted to finish her studies, and had a legal abortion at a New York clinic last spring because she wanted to continue working. Her outlook toward abortion is more positive than her mother's ("There was no question in my mind how important it is to plan children"), but even her attitude is not unclouded. After her second abortion, Jane felt weakened and developed a fever; she began to fear that some complication might render her sterile. "I

suddenly realized that I did want children," she said. "Then I began to value the ability to conceive."

Doctors themselves often exhibit conflicting attitudes. Practicing Roman Catholics generally refuse to perform the procedure. Official church teaching holds unequivocally that abortion is taking human life and thus a crime against both God and man. The church threatens with excommunication anyone who obtains or performs the operation. Fundamentalist Protestants and some Orthodox Jews also oppose abortion. Though some rabbis and Protestant ministers have been leaders in the abortion reform movement, other liberal clergymen believe that abortion is justified only in those rare instances when it is necessary to save the mother's life.

Many doctors have nonreligious reasons for their reluctance to perform abortions. Dr. Robert Hall, associate pro-

abortion patients have difficulty adjusting to their assignment. Even those who volunteer for the duty have mixed feelings about it. They are sympathetic and try to help their patients through the abortion, but many find their work upsetting. Those with maternity-ward training have been drilled to do everything possible for the survival of infants. They look down on colleagues who work in the therapeutic-abortion ward.

THE OPPOSITION. Anti-abortion forces are active on several fronts (TIME, March 29) and have organized mail and telephone campaigns to pressure legislators into voting against abortion liberalization. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York has founded a group called Birthright that seeks to offer women with unwanted pregnancies an alternative to abortion. The organization, which provides counseling, prenatal and

COURT TESTS. Meanwhile, restrictive laws are under challenge in the courts on the grounds of vagueness, violation of the right to privacy, and the denial of individual rights. Wisconsin's law is under a cloud; no final ruling has yet been issued on the constitutional question, but a U.S. district court has forbidden the prosecution of a Madison gynecologist for operating an abortion clinic. California law is also the subject of a court test as pro- and anti-abortion forces battle

performed. The restriction would, how-

ever, impose a serious handicap on doc-

tors trying to determine whether to per-

form an abortion on genetic grounds.

Many tests for fetal abnormalities cannot

be made before the 16th or 18th week of

pregnancy, and some take as long as 30

days to perform and evaluate. There is

also sentiment for limiting abortions to

regular hospitals. Dr. Hall, a leader in

New York's abortion-reform movement,

feels that clinics are unsuited to handle

the hemorrhaging that can result from

even the most carefully performed abor-

tion. Others, including spokesmen for

Planned Parenthood, argue that clinic

abortions are as safe as those performed

in hospitals, and that eliminating clinics

would deny many the opportunity to ob-

tain abortions.

1967 law The U.S. Supreme Court could render all these cases moot during its upcoming term. The court has agreed to hear challenges to Texas and Georgia abortion laws, and if it should decide for the plaintiffs, its action could nullify most anti-abortion laws.

over an appellate court decision overturning part of the state's liberalized

Doctors, meanwhile, are seeking to make abortion easier, safer-and, ideally, unnecessary. Because the New York experience has shown that early abortions are only one-sixth as likely as later operations to result in complications, physicians and counselors are trying to educate women to come in as soon as they have missed a period. Research is also progressing on substances that can safely induce menstruation when it is late. This would be not merely a morning-after pill, but perhaps, eventually, a fortnight-after pill.

Experience with conventional contraceptives has shown, however, many couples do not seem willing or able to use them consistently or properly. Easily available abortion may even carry with it the risk of promoting still more sexual irresponsibility, the attitude that a lost gamble in bed will be easily remedied on a clinic table. Yet if freedom to get an abortion virtually on demand is to become as common in this country as it is in Japan and parts of Europe, then a correlative sense of responsibility is necessary. Research and public education concerning contraception must be promoted even more vigorously than they have been. Ideally, abortion should be relegated to its proper role; an available but rarely used last resort.



RECOVERY ROOM AT MANHATTAN'S PARKMED CLINIC Less traumatic than expected.

fessor of gynecology and obstetrics at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, believes that some doctors resent laws allowing the woman to decide on abortion because they limit the physician's "godlike role." doctors also find the procedure alien to their experience. Hall estimates that before the New York law took effect, the typical specialist performed only one or two therapeutic abortions a year; much of his practice was devoted to assisting a normal delivery.

Still, a slowly growing number of doc-tors approve of abortion, especially the younger ones, some of whom euphemistically describe themselves as "specialists in delayed menstruation." A poll of 1,146 New York State obstetrician-gynecologists taken a year ago showed that only 59% favored the liberalized law. A follow-up survey last January showed 69% in favor

Some nurses who work closely with

postnatal care and adoption services, has received 1,800 calls since its formation last spring

For the time being, at least, political efforts to alter abortion laws appear to be stalemated. Bills to repeal New York's new law failed to make their way out of committee during the past legislative session. Proposals to liberalize abortion laws in 29 other states fared no better. Many experts believe that the permissive policies in several states have relieved pressure on standpat states to act on abortion. Federal action is also unlikely, though Oregon Senator Robert Packwood has introduced a bill that would allow any physician to perform an abortion on demand during the first 34 months of pregnancy. The bill is given little chance of passage.

Still, some changes in the laws may be forthcoming. Some pro-abortion physicians want to limit to 20 weeks the period during which an abortion may be

BEHAVIOR

Of Pot and Rats

Those who advocate the unrestricted use of marijuana like to point out that there is no proof the drug has a lasting or harmful effect. That argument has one of the drug has a lasting the American Chemical Society in Washington last week, Biochemists Harris Rosenkrantz and Yugal Luthra reported the first evidence of bossic—and dangerwas—chemical changes in designation over a long period of time.

In a series of controlled experiments lasting three months, the scientists gave 160 rats a marijuana extract and TILC, a synthetic form of the drug. The pre-liminary results were dramatic. Twelve of the 40 rats given the strongest doses of pot died during the tests. Even those given lighter doses showed signs of bi-zarre behavior. As many as half the rats tested developed tremors.

Revealing Autopsies, Within the first few days of the experiment, the scientists reported, depression occurred in many of the lab animals. Then "as tolerance [to marijuana] developed, hyperactivity became prevalent after day seven." As the tests continued, the frenzied activity of the rats began to culminate in seizures, convulsions and, in some cases, death. Autopsies revealed that the exposed rats had suffered a loss of brain protein and RNA, both of which play an important role in brain function. These changes occurred from 28 to 91 days after the first of the daily doses of marijuana.

Although the pot clearly seems responsible for both the physical and behavioral changes, the scientists were cautious in stating their conclusion: "One is tempted to speculate that neurochemical changes lin the rats' brains are directly related to the hyperactivity and convulsions." Rosenkrantz and Luthra suggested that doctors who observe hyperactivity or convulsions in patients who are chronic pot smokers might treat them in time to prevent the pos-

sibility of even more serious illness. The biochemists admit that their results may not be applicable to humans. They note that "feeding" the rats marijuana through tubes inserted directly into their stomachs is about one-sixth as effective as inhalation. On the other hand, the smallest chronic dosage given to any of the groups of rats was 30 times as high as that inhaled by heavy users of less potent, natural marijuana. Moreover, to duplicate the rat experiment with humans, the scientists estimated, a subject would have to puff his way through 50 joints of marijuana a day. Even so, the results of the experiment raise the possibility that the processes that took place in the brains of the test rats may also be occurring in the brains of chronic marijuana smokers.

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Light and Loneliness

Like one of the telephone poles in the empty landscapes he used to paint. Edward Hopper looms lonely and somewhat isolated in the terrain of American art

He was a remote, even a guarded man. An exacting curator of his own future collection, for the 84 years of his life he exhibited nothing that he did not choose to exhibit and showed his few visitors nothing he did not wish them to see. Thirty years ago, well before New York's Whitney Museum mounted its first Hopper retrospective, the show's director, Lloyd Goodrich (who is also Hopper's biographer), was shown meticulously kept logbooks that seemed to record all Hopper's important works, including data on when and where painted or

his father's library: English, French and Russian novelists, philosophers from Montaigne to Emerson. He was a loner almost from the start, perhaps because by the age of twelve he had sprouted to an awkward 6 ft. (full-grown, he was 6 ft. 4 in.), When he was 18, he enrolled in the New York School of Art, studying under Robert Henri, then a leader of the Ashcan School

At 24. Hopper took off for Paris, returning twice in the next several years, Typically, he took no part in the Parisian whirl, where Picasso and Braque were busy trying to revolutionize painting. He remained a light-struck realist to the end of his days. His early work shows however, that the shapes and, above all, the light of Paris, as well as the Impressionist ambience, did much for his eye and his palette. Back in the U.S., the attractive also drawing from the nude at the Whitney Studio Club in Manhattan. The works of this period show he was a good draftsman who could depict a naked woman with an earthy sensuousness that Renoir might have approved. In the early '20s on a trip back to the New York School of Art, he became interested in Art Student Josephine Verstille Nivison, a small, vivid, thirtvish woman whose volubility and quick wit were the exact opposite of Hopper's quiet slowness. In 1924, when Hopper was 42, they married. From then on, she did nearly all the modeling for his nudes and other feminine figures. Perhaps it says something about their curious yet enduring relationship that his nudes-and indeed all his figures-thereafter became increasingly stiff and generalized. Hopper's life was doubly isolated af-

ter marriage. Jo briskly set herself up as his defense against the world. During the rare interviews that Hopper granted, she

did most of the talking. Once, excusing herself to go to the bathroom, she warned Hopper: "Don't you dare say a thing until I get back-what would you do without me to protect you?" Hopper bore these goings on with stoic tolerance, only occasionally interjecting in the midst of one of her conversational spasms a resigned "Oh, Jo." Mrs. Hopper had her own complaint. "Sometimes talking with Eddie is just like dropping a stone in a well. except that it doesn't thump when it hits bottom.

"I'm After Me." What the new show emphasizes again is that Hopper was not just a visual annotator. Though it is full of those notations-either discarded or incorporated and transformed into finished works. These pictures reveal an involved man painting his own condition. What are you after here?" Crit-

ic Brian O'Doherty once asked him, looking at a particularly austere

painting called Sun in an Empty Room. I'm after me," said Hopper, Hopper had originally placed a female figure in the room and then painted it out. The resulting picture is haunted by a sense of a presence that is not there, of a room that has just been left.

Hopper paintings are not to be taken as quaint studies of Cape Cod dunes or static scenes of raucous city life, No drinkers carouse at Hopper's bars, no oilskinned fishermen haul Hopper's nets. He is an intense artist of the arrested moment, of the intermission between Act I and Act II of a play still being written. In general, there is no joy in the contemplation; the past seems full but futile, the future bleak but bearable. In the meantime. Hopper proposes the lean, almost unnoticed consolation of street lamplight on brownstone, of sunlight on lonely houses -and he paints the light and the loneliness as well as anyone has.



"NIGHT SHADOWS" (ETCHING, 1921)

JO NIVISON HOPPER (CIRCA 1930)

An intense artist of the arrested moment.

exhibited, when and to whom sold. A year after his death in 1968, his widow died. To the surprise of the art world, she bequeathed to the Whitney a vast new collection of Hoppers: some 2,000 paintings, watercolors, drawings and etchings that the painter had kept more or less private for years. Some were not dated, a few were not signed. It has taken over a year to sort and catalogue the works. The 157 pieces now on view at the museum are a remarkably complete and interesting study collection of the artist.

Impressionist Ambience, The Whitney show will not add much to Hopper's established reputation. But it does reveal a good deal about Hopper's interests and development, his slow trialand-error manner of working, his ex-acting standards for himself and his relationship with the world. The son of a frustrated scholar turned dry-goods merchant, Hopper was born in Nyack, N.Y., in 1882. He read prodigiously in blur of Impressionism vanishes from his oils. The light flattens, shadows are sharper and more sculptural, forms grow increasingly solid and defined, as in The Dories, Ogunquit, which suggests that Hopper might even have picked up a notion or two from his contemporar Marsden Hartley. But his paintings did not find customers. He sold one as a result of the 1913 Armory Show, but it took ten more years to sell and he was over 40 before he sold the second. He rubbed along doing magazine illustrations, and at one time had almost given up serious painting when, in 1915, he began to do etchings. An impressive example, presented at the Whitney, is a scene viewed from above, with a man walking a deserted city street, the shadow of a lamppost striking across his own lonely shadow. All fussy detail is suppressed: there is only stark image and a mood.

Such etchings sold, and thus encouraged, Hopper began to paint oils again and experiment with watercolors. He was

A.T. Raker



"SELF PORTRAIT" (PROBABLY FROM THE 1920s)

Hopper's Own Hoard



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EDUCATION

As College Starts, There Go the Stop-Outs

The question used to be "Where are you going to college?" Now it is "Are you going?"

Pamela Batchelor, a June high school aduate in suburban Mountain Lakes, N.J., speaks for a growing number of U.S. students. Pam will spend the fall backpacking in Europe. As U.S. colleges open this autumn with a record enrollment of more than 8,000,000, several thousand young people with the brains to get in and the money for tuition will be missing. They are rebelling at the very idea of attending college at all-at least, as they see it, until they can figure out what the courses have to do with their own feelings and aims. Even among the traditionally college-oriented graduates of leading prep schools, a new survey shows that 6% decided not to go on to college in 1970, compared with 4.5% the year before. The disenchantment affects students already in college as well; an estimated 500,000 will leave voluntarily by year's end.

The trend is often shocking to parents and discomfiting to colleges. But a large, though not yet measurable number of the students who choose to leave will eventually come back, if they follow past patterns. In the words of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, they "stop out"—that is, they drop out of the college scene temporarily

to gain experience

What Was Relevant, One such stopout is Hillary Emmer, 21. After two years as a listless biology student at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Hillary announced that she was quitting school to "find out what is happening in the world." She zigzagged among half a dozen jobs, made herself an expert on local rent law and won a suit against her landlord. Then she took her \$500 court award and hitchhiked across the country. This fall, she finally returned to Buffalo, switched her major from biology to community education. and turned on an enthusiasm she had never shown before. "I'm taking cours-es I believe in now." she says, "I found what was relevant to the world and relevant to me

Some high school students, however brilliant, have always been emotionally unready for college; others leave because of illness, temporary lack of money or marriage. Still others have been so considerable to the still other have been so the still other than the

taste for authority and material success, students—and for that matter, adults—are questioning the value of degrees at a time of high unemployment and scarcity of jobs for last June's

graduates.

Although many students who take a break from college embark on seemingly endless meandering, many others take on jobs that run heavily to social work, part-time teaching and labor organizing. For instance, Hamilton Fish III, who on the record of his name alone should be the fifth to do so), is now a Harvard stop-out, working on a campaign



BUFFALO'S EMMER

to register student voters on campus. Not too many years ago, colleges frowned on peripatelic students. Now many administrations are beginning to give them formal encouragement. Increasing numbers of colleges advertise what they did informally for years—allow successful applicants to delay their entry for a year. The colleges assure entry for a year, the colleges assure that they will have places the following fall.

Distinct they will have places the following fall.

Distinct heads the following fall.

Disencharted Hitchhiker, Wisconsin's Beloit College is thoughtfully offering its delaying freshmen a bit more: counseling on everything from personal problems to finding jobs. From the University of Kunsas to Yale, undergraduates find it easy to get leaves of abtal year, one out of every 18 students was on leave. Stanford's sympathetic adviers often work out projects in which students get academic credit for analyzing the nonacademic jobs they take.

Not every voluntary dropout comes back, of course. Roger Klotz, 21, who left Allegheny College after his sophomore year, became disenchanted on a cross-country hitchhike, decided that the average guy can get his liberal arts education by reading in his spare arts education by reading in his spare time while he's working. He was hired by a hardware chain fafter agreeing to the stay with the firm for five years). Other dropouts drop in to part-time jobs and the communal-living arrangements that are now a permanent outgrowth of the counterculture.

Ticket to Ride. Nor do all those who return to college do so thirsty for higher learning. San Jose State's Jim Savstrom, who begins his final year this week, is getting his degree because, for a would-be teacher, it is a "ticket to ride, and I want to ride in the best possible way without welfare."

Clearly, leaving college can turn into a purposeless drift through trivial jobs and futile distractions. The specter of a dropout's destroying himself on heroin haunts many a parent (though the prevalence of drugs on campus makes life



ILLINOIS STATE'S POAG Life is a preparation for school.

in academe less reassuring than it used to be).

Still, many stop-outs do better academically than their less-seasoned classmates, if only because they are a year older. One Illinois State psychology major, Doug Poag, dropped out to work on a prison-reform project. He has now joined the Bloomington, Ill., police force and started moonlighting at the university to prepare himself for law school. Students who stop out and return to class "are in school because they want to be, not because their daddy wants a doctor in the family," says Ward Dennis, associate dean of Columbia's School of General Studies. As Psychiatrist Lawrence Kubie has pointed out, while school can be a preparation for life, life is a preparation for school.

RELIGION

Politics and Conscience

Either Christ was God and Savior and Lord or he wasn't; and if he were, then he had to have all my time, all my devotion, all my life.

The words sound almost as if they could have been spoken by the Apostle Paul himself. They are, rather, the words of a U.S. Sentor, Oregon's Mark O. Hatfield. In a straightforward new book. Conflict and Conscience (Word Books; \$4.95), Republican Hatfield explains how his conservative Protestant theology* has impelled him to become one of his party's leading liberals.

Most of the book is a collection of speeches and writings by Hatfield over the past few years. But much of it, directed originally to evangelical audiences, will be new and startling to many who have known Hatfield only for his politics. His direction has been clear. he explains in one brief, unemotional passage, ever since a night in 1954 when he sat in a room at his parents' home thinking about the purpose of his life. "I could not continue to drift along, going to church because I had always gone. he writes. "I saw that for 31 years I had lived for self, and I decided I wanted to live the rest of my life for Jesus Christ.'

The price of that choice is spelled out in the book's best selection, a 1970 commencement address at Fuller Theo-

Though a member of a Salem, Ore., congregation of the Conservative Baptist Association, Hatfield frequently attends Fourth Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, Md., a highly evangelical congregation. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird is a fellow parishioner.



SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD Hate mail from fellow Christians.

logical Seminary in Pasadena, Calif, Hatfield's growing opposition to the war in Viet Nam had already earned him a healthy amount of thinly disguised hate mail from "fellow Christians." The letters faulted the Senator for criticizing the President and accused him of encouraging antiwar protest. He came to the occasion in obvious anguish.

Half the Gospel. Theological liberals, he began, may sin by overemphasizing social action and underemphasizing the need for personal conversion, but conservatives can be just as one-sided in rejecting social involvement. "Insofar as we preach only half the Gospel," said Hatfield, "we are no less heretical than those who preach only the other half. As for presidential authority, declared Hatfield, respect for the office had got so out of hand that it carried "a potential of idolatry." Social issues of the day, he said, are everyone's problem, and Christians must not only accept their "collective guilt," but also seek opportunities for "collective good.

Hatfield made it clear that the war in Southeast Asia was for him "morally indefensible." On racism he was equally candid: "Why has the church failed so miserably?" he asked. "Why is it that one of the bastions of racial hate in this country is located firmly in the so-called Bible Belt? Why is it that the overwhelming majority of evangelical churches are still segregated both in spirit and in fact?" Defending governmental intervention to aid the poor, Hatfield asserted, "the evangelical conscience takes its authority not from John Locke's concept of property or William Buckley's concepts of strictly limited government, but from the New Testament.

Decisive Vote, Republican Congressman John B. Anderson of Illinois, thirdranking House Republican as leader of the House G.O.P. Conference, recently professed a similar faith in his autobiography Between Two Worlds (Zondervan: \$3.95). Anderson cast the decisive vote as a member of the House Rules Committee that cleared the way for eventual passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, with its sweeping open-housing provisions. A member of the Evangelical Free Church of America who made his "decision for Christ" at the age of nine, Anderson voted in favor of the civil rights legislation after "prayer, meditation, and careful consideration of my responsibility as a Christian"-and despite the fact that his constituency was overwhelmingly opposed to open housing.

Both Hatfield and Anderson conclude that the concerned Christian should also be politically active and that Christian leadership in Government is essential to any solution of national and international problems. "God's Grace in Christ," says Anderson simply, "is the only force that can reconcile the hearts of men toward each other."



YOUNG CATHOLICS BEING CONFIRMED
The good scent of Christ.

Confirmation Demilitarized

Confirmation, in the Roman Catholic Church, is the sacrament that marks the young Catholic's entry into the adult church, a kind of personal Pendult church, a kind of personal Pendult church, a kind of personal Pendult church chisting to become a material church chisting to become a material church chu

For centuries, the form has been the same: an application of the holy oils (chrism) on the recipient's forehead and the words." I mark you with the sign of the cross and I confirm you with the chrism of salvation in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. "The bishop also delivered a slight blow to the cheek, an adaptation of the chrism of salvation of the chrism of salvation of the chrism of salvation of the chrism of the chrism

The soldier days are over. Last week Pope Paul VI announced a new rite of confirmation that, among other changes, abolishes the symbolic blow on the cheek, apparently because of its mil-itary implication. The new words revert to a 4th century Byzantine formula, still used by most Eastern Catholic and Orthodox churches, that emphasizes the Holy Spirit. The bishop will simply say, "Receive the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit," or some similar translation from the prescribed Latin: Accipe signaculum doni Spiritus Sancti. As for the holy oils, they will now be perfumed, said a Vatican spokesman, as a reminder that Christians are "the good scent of Christ everywhere.

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CINEMA

Difficult but Triumphant

Sunday Bloody Sunday is an asomaly. Is test is sexual, but its theme is nothing less than the nature of affection. This is the province of the novel, not the cinema, and even so mature a film falters before its destination. But never has an English-language film glistened with so many social muances. In part, the credit is due to Director John Schlesinger (Vidinija Cowboy); he has also contributed a classer of sylstic debshed to the contributed and the second of the Bloody Sunday belongs to Securist Fenelope Gilliatt, whose pito alone challenges the customary moral institutions.

A young bisexual designer, Bob (Murray Head), finds himself the fulcrum of a sexual teeterboard. On one side sits scarcely be called a revelation. But in certain scenes—when, for example, she orders Bob about in a voice filled with self-abnegation, or when she stands depleted before her "rival"—she surpasses any previous part. As for Peter Finch, this versatile and deeply intelligent performer has never had so fine an hour former had been supported by the self-all so fine and so fine the self-all so fine and so fine the self-all so fine

Although the trio constitute most of the film. Schlesinger has not slighted even the smallest subordinate role. A 53-year-old hence unemployable businessman (Tony Britton) is a character worthy of a tragedy all to himself. In a single scene, Peggy Asheroft as Alex's

emphasize the callowness of such tentative sexual probes as Carnal Knowledge or Husbands. And they provide a binary challenge—to the viewer and the film maker. For at its frequent best, Sunday Bloody Sunday proves that no theme, no individual need be beyond the reach contenum. The faults and excesses of this current. The faults and excesses of this current. The faults and excesses of this sunday Bloody Sunday must even now be considered one of the central films of the decade. It is that rare work whose influence is bound to prove greater than its statement.

■ Stefan Kanfer

During the London blitz, Barrister Cyril Conner retained a serene confidence in his country's future. It was his daughter's future that concerned him. "Promise me something." he asked the smashing little redhead. "Promise me you'll never marry a saxophonist from Budapest."

Recalls Penelope Gilliatt (hard g as in grin): "He sensed something perilous in the air even then." The hair and skin are the same hue that used to transport Titian, and she has never married a Hungarian of any kind. But as for the "something perilous"—well, Conner's trepidations were founded.

Perhans it was inevitable. Mum and

Dad separated when she was ten; the child was given her choice of parent to live with. At that age, girls are bonkers about their fathers; she and Connet enjoyed what she recalls as "a parroly of marriage." Together they went to concerning the control of the control of

By the time she got back to London, work offered more appeal than Oxford. To fill her mind, she practiced French, Middle English, Latin and Russian. To fill her fridge, she turned out witty, informed theater and cinema essays for such respected journals as the New Statesman and The Observer.

Irresistible Signal. In her 20s Penelope Conner became known for something more than her critical acuity. There was that flaming hair, for one thing, and that look of perpetual astonishment. And there were the men. She was married for seven years to a brilliant neurologist. Roger Gilliatt-the best man at the wedding of Princess Margaret and Antony Armstrong-Jones. The Gilliatts split when she ran off with Playwright John Osborne (Look Back in Anger). After five years of volatile marriage, she and Osborne called it finis. She got custody of their only child Nolan Kate. For a brief time she had a rather deep friendship with Critic-Impresario Kenneth Tynan (Oh! Calcutta!).

The New Yorker, enchanted with her work, brought her Stateside to write their film critiques from April to



FINCH, HEAD & JACKSON IN "SUNDAY BLOODY SUNDAY"

Sexual testerboard.

his lover, a Jewish doctor named Daniel Hirsh (Peter Finch). At the opposite end is his mistress, the haggard divorcee Alex Greville (Glenda Jackson).

Doubly Desirable. Obviously, such a condition cannot long endure. No problem is too great for the artist to problem is too great for the artist to run away from; Bob flees to America. The amours he left behind may have been miscrable with him; without him they are desolate. From this uncompromising situation, Gilliart has drawn blood. Her dialogue is literate but not precious, unbowdlerized but not prurient. Through her characters' recognizability they become memorable.

As the doubly desired object. Head plays a narrow, unrewarding role wedge between two giants. His victim-bene ficiaries are creatures of enormous complexity. Alex is an employment agent who cannot find her own vocation. Her family, her friends, her life become dark and unfathomable all that matters are and unfathomable all that matters are considered to the control of the contro

The recipient of an Academy Award (for Women in Love), Jackson can

mother furnishes her daughter with an almost schizophrenic past. It is a pity that Alex is not the only di-

vided personality of Sunday Bloody Sunday. There have always been two John Schlesingers. The high Schlesinger is the consummate actor's director. Julie Christie has never fulfilled the promise of Schlesinger's Darling, Jon Voight has not come near his performance in Midnight Cowboy. Finch and Jackson will find it difficult, perhaps impossible, to equal their Sunday roles. The low Schlesinger is a pirouetting dandy who can take a lean, melancholy story and muck it about. Thus he filled Midnight Cowboy with baroque ornaments and fussy camerawork. Thus he films Sunday Bloody Sunday with the same extraneous decorations. Faces are continually shot in reflection, or through objects; juxtapositions are sophomoric -the camera pans down from a poverty poster to a refrigerator brimming with food; posh automobiles wheel around London streets, whilst the radio barks of economic crises. Yet, after all the errata, the core of the

fet, after all the errata, the core of the fiction remains incorruptible. Gilliatt is always a mature artist; Schlesinger is often one. When they work in unison they

September—Pauline Kael writes for the other half-year. Her long liaison with Director Mike Nichols has been extinguished. (When his pictures open, she still steps aside for a more objective critic.)

Those credentials have hemidemisemiquavers of Alma Mahler, who also combined personal beauty and an intellectual signal that achievers found irresistible. But Gilliatt's life has no such grand VIcented design. The first major film criticuted and the companies of the comsa a separati, the has been designed as thing of a recluse, both in her life and work. The prominent are never the subjects of her fiction, so far almost twoscore polished short stories and two novels, largely about the odd, unfashments.



PENELOPE & NOLAN GILLIATT Hemidemisemiquavers of Alma Mahler.

ionable characters whom Anthony Burgess reviewed as "defiantly interesting. Gilliatt's abiding empathy illumines Sunday Bloody Sunday and roots her in America. Though her passport is British, she works nine months a year on Manhattan's West Side, where she and Nolan, six, share a large flat. One of her favorite recreations is solitary word games-she has concocted one of the world's longest palindromes; "Doc, note, I dissent. A fast never prevents a fatness. I diet on cod." Now that Sunday Bloody Sunday has opened to ecstatic notices in London, she is in the act of turning down offers from producers who once thought of her as The Enemy.

Gilliatt remains one of the few foreigners who openly celebrates her adopted home. "England is a very brilliant, very wry old country and I love it very much," she says. "But America is huge and different and I don't think any event, any act—like Attica—will ever express the whole of this inexhaustible country. I hope some day to be good enough to write a film about it." Some "free" credit cards are good at some restaurants. The American Express Money Card is good at good ones...worldwide.



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SE75			

MILESTONES

Born. To Paul McCartney, 29, renegade Beatle, and Linda Eastman, 30, the honey blonde American divorcee who ended his bachelorhood two years ago; their second child, a daughter; in London. Name: Stella.

Engaged. W. Averell Harriman, 79 negotiator with Communist powers, high-ranking Government official for four Democratic Administrations, and former Governor of New York; and Famels Hayward, 51, British widow of Producer Leland Hayward and mother of Winston Churchill II by her earlier marriage to Sir Winston's son Randolph It will be the third marriage for both.

Died. Harald Lander, 66, Seandinavian ballet master and choreographer who helped mold the Royal Danish Ballet into one of the world's greatest troupes; of leukemia: in Copenhagen, During his 19 years as ballet master, the former dancer choreographed such highly priased productions as La Vahre, highly priased productions and the Etuder, In 1951 scandal ended the Danish phase of his career; he was accused of taking liberties with ballerinas and forced to resign. Instead of retiring, he went to France and was soon appointdablet master at the Paris Opera.

Died, Roland de Vaux, 67, the French Dominican priest and biblical scholar who was one of those who penetrated the mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls: of a heart attack; in Jerusalem. Two years after a Bedouin shepherd stumbled onto a cave near the Dead Sea in 1947. De Vaux was among a party of archaeologists who journeyed to the spot. There they uncovered more than 40 previously unknown caves, many containing ancient Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic manuscripts. The 2,000-year-old documents, pieced together and edited by an international team of scholars headed by De Vaux, turned out to be one of history's greatest archaeological finds.

Died, John Desmond Bernal, 70, physicist-philosopher and ardent Communist: of a stroke; in London. Called the "Sage" by fellow British scientists because of his encyclopedic knowledge, Bernal infuriated them with one of his favorite theories: "In capitalist countries, the direction of science is in the hands of those who hate peace." Nonetheless, they recognized the greatness of Bernal's own contributions to science, including experiments with crystals in the 1920s and '30s that helped lay the groundwork for molecular biology. When Sir John Anderson, Home Secretary at the outbreak of World War II. was criticized for hiring an outspoken Communist to work as an explosives expert, he replied that he would employ Bernal "even if he is as red as the flames of hell.

Mom's apple pie is radioactive. So is Mom.

That doesn't make her a dangerous woman.

Radiation is just naturally everywhere. In the earth, In your homes. In your food. In your Mom.

And each accounts for more radiation than a nuclear-power plant.

Take your Mom. Or yourself for that matter. The radioactive materials in our bodies give us an internal exposure of natural radiation averaging 25 millirems. (A millirem is 1/1000 of a rem, the standard unit of measurement of the biological effect of radiation.)

Buildings and the earth add another 55 millirems. Cosmic rays from space expose us to around 40 millirems. This varies-the higher

the elevation you are at, the higher the exposure. All exposures considered, each American averages about 125 millirems of natural radiation annually.

Now, how about a nuclear power plant? Present operating experience tells us this: a person living anywhere in the vicinity of a typical nuclear power plant, 24 hours a day for a full year, would be exposed to less than 5 millirems of radiation from the plant.

Less than 5 millirems. Why. Mom could easily be exposed to that much during one round-trip coastto-coast airline flight at 35,000 feet.

Those are the facts. And we think everyone should be aware of them. Because America's need for electricity is expected to double in the next ten years. To meet this need in an orderly fashion, clean, safe nuclear power must play an increasingly important role.

Our country's ability to do the work that needs to be done will depend on an adequate supply of electricity. There's no time to waste. New generating facilities must be built, and built in a way compatible with our environment.

We'll continue working to do this. But we need your understanding today to meet tomorrow's needs.

The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies.





If we goof, we have lots of people who'll see it your way.

The people listed here are our quality managers, one for each U.S. operating unit. (There are over 400 of them worldwide.)

Their job is to help make sure you get what you pay for. They're constantly measuring the conformance of thousands of our products and services to our own rigid standards.

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To insure that they remain free spirits, they are responsible to our corporate vice president for Quality. He reports to the Office of the President.

If you have a complaint about one of our products or services, please get in touch with the appropriate manager. He'll take it from there. And thank you for letting him know.

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SERVING PEOPLE

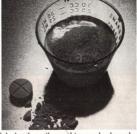
Portland is putting drunk drivers on drugs.

Wait long enough in a busy drug store in Portland, Oregon, and chances are you'll see a convicted drunk driver come in for his prescribed daily dose of Antabuse.

Chances are also that he will be astonishingly sober.

Antabuse has that effect. As a drug with unique properties, it will cause him to become suddenly and violently ill if he takes a drink.

The Portland Alcohol Safety Action Program (ASAP), administered through Oregon's Alcohol and Drug Section, requires that many problem drinkers convicted of drunk driving take Antabuse under careful medical supervision. It can't cure their drinking problem, of course, but it can keep them off the bottle until something can be done about



the problems which make them drink. To get the problem drinker off the road and onto Antabuse (or some other program) as quickly as possible, law enforcement and court procedures have been stepped up dramatically.

An increased number of patrolmen are on the constant lookout for drunk drivers, and two new courts have been instituted to hear none but drunk driving cases.

Through the combined efforts of all involved, problem drinkers who drive in Portland are getting off the road.

And getting help.

Through efforts made by Portland and by other ASAP projects across the country, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration expects to come up with recommendations for an effective nation-wide program to stop drunk driving.

State Farm endorses this effort because nearly thirty thousand drivers, passengers and pedestrians were killed last year in alcohol-related accidents.

The goal is to have 86 Alcohol Safety Action Programs throughout the country. To find out more about the programs and to find out what you can do to help them, write the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation, Washington, D. C. 20590.





RIPENING CORN ON FARM IN ILLINOIS

The Farmers' Bursting Cornucopia

I should be the best crop I've had in many many years," gloated Defruir Grotefendt, surveying the fields of rigo golden corn on his 350-acer farm in Marine, III. Only last year corn blight, which destroyed 15% of the nation's which destroyed 15% of the nation's tefendt's planting. Farmers feared that wirtuent fungus might rain up to half the crop this summer. Yell tast week, a mod of quiet satisfaction was evident across the U.S. heartland as weeker across the U.S. heartland as most bountful tharvests in history.

Almost every crop will be larger than last year. The Agriculture Department expects a record 1.6 billion bushel harvest of wheat, or 18% more than in 1970. An unmatched 1.2 billion bushels of soybeans is predicted. Since the threat of widespread blight never materialized, the corn yield is expected to weigh in at an unprecedented 5.3 billion bushels, up 28% from last year.

Perfect Weather. A big factor in checking the blight was the unusually dry weather in July and August that deprived the fungus of life-giving moisture. The cornbelt states of Illinois, Nebraska and Iowa, which were badly plagued in 1970, escaped with only light damage this summer. "The weather was perfect," says Wyne Englehardt, who grows corn and wheat on a 4,000-acre farm near Oakley, Kans. Many farmers in Southern states where leaf disease broke out in 1970 planted blight-resistant seeds this year. Thus the spores could not accumulate and be blown North to infect fields there

A change in the Government's complicated price-support program also contributed to the overflowing corn crop. To offset the possible effects of blight this year, the program was realigned to niduce farmers to use up to 20% more of their corn-growing land instead of leaving it fallow. The result: corn plantings increased by almost 7,000,000 acres, to 64 million acres.

This bursting cornucopia is not likely to result in quick or major cuts in food prices. Feed for hogs and cattle will be cheaper as a result of the bumper corn crop. But farmers reduced their hog production last year because of low prices and high feed costs caused by the blight. The effect of their decision will be felt in stores early next year and will probably make bacon, sausage and other pork products slightly costlier than now. More cattle will be raised this year, but this beefed-up production will not be reflected in meatcounter prices for 18 months-if ever. Says Economist Larry Simerl of the University of Illinois: "Consumers buy more beef every year, and this increased demand is likely to absorb any increase in production." The best that shoppers can probably expect is more cut-rate supermarket specials on chickens.

Less Clout, For many of the 3,000,000 U.S. farmers, the pleasure derived from the bumper crop is tempered by a wistful remembrance of things past. Its numbers much diminished by increasing mechanization on ever larger tracts, the farm bloc has lost much of its political clout in Washington and the nation. A chronic dissatisfaction afflicts small farmers, many of whom are forced off the land each year. Those who remain face persistent rises in production costs; last year, despite a record gross income of \$56.6 billion, farmers wound up with total earnings of \$15.7 billion-\$500 million less than the year before

Farm income this year will probably not rise above the 1970 level and could come in slightly below it. Any dip in prices for livestock, which accounts for about 60% of farm earnings, has a widespread effect. Thus the payments farmers receive for the rich autumn bounty will be partially offset by relatively meager prices for hogs, poultry and eggs in the first half of the year. To nudge farmers into growing more corn as a hedge against blight, the Department of Agriculture discontinued some support payments for unused acreage. All together, the move will snip Government payments to farmers this year by \$500 million, to about \$3,2 billion, Economist Simerl reckons that because of lower prices the total cash value of the record corn crop might not be much higher than that of the 1970 harvest.

A major part of the decision on prices for farmers, and indirectly for consumers, will be made in commodities exchanges like the Chicago Board of Trade, the nation's largest. September corn futures closed there last week at \$1.40 a bushe v. \$1.51 for the same day last year. Because of growing world deserved to the same state of the sa

The big imponderable for traders, farmers and the taxpaying public is whether foreign countries will retaliate against the U.S. import surcharge. Meeting with President Nixon last week. farm group leaders urged an early end to the surcharge to prevent their goods from being kept out of overseas markets. In the year ending last June, the U.S. sold \$2.9 billion worth of farm goods to Europe. Of the total, \$1 billion was in sales of soybeans and soybean products, which are used in things like margarine and ink. This commodity would be vulnerable in any trade war; if necessary, Europeans could import soybeans from Brazil or Africa. "There can always be substitutes if it is a matter of national policy," says Clarence Palmby, an assistant secretary of the Agriculture Department.

Concerned Traders, Small signs of annoyance are already evident in Japan, the world's biggest customer for American wheat and tobacco. In fiscal 1971, Japan spent \$1.2 billion for U.S. farm products, up from \$900 million in 1968, Last week, Japan bypassed the U.S. and bought wheat from Canada and Australia, a move that caused concern among traders in Chicago's market. Any large-scale retaliation by foreigners against U.S. farm goods would be painful. It would lead to lower farm incomes, and to make up for them, bigger Government crop subsidies-paid for by all U.S. taxpayers.



SELLING DEFENSE STAMPS IN 1942
A sound financial refuge.

INVESTMENT

Boom in Savings Bonds

When it comes to buying U.S. sayings bonds, patriotism has not paid—until recently. One of the Government's highest economic policymakers was asked not long ago by the Trausury to urge the public to buy bonds; he refused, on grounds that the 5.5% interest rate did not keep up with inflation. In sum, bond buyers actually one redeemed their old bonds faster than they bought new ones. Now, in an unexpected turnabout,

Now, in an unexpected turnabout, the Treasury Department reports that savings bonds are selling better than they have since 1945. This year's sales seem sure to top \$5.5 billion, well over the \$4.8 billion projected last January and the \$4.7 billion sold last year.

To many people, the bonds at present appear to be as sound an investment as any in the land. The stockmarket has been sluggish: the glitter of popen mutual funds has long gene: bankings accounts have been at 5% or lower. If the President's freeze cools inflation, the savings bond rates will look even better. Insecure about the future, many small investors—particularly middleaged with the collar workers—are seeking securities.

AIRLINES

Prices Down over the Atlantic

"Lufthansa thinks it is time to end the confusion and give the traveling public what it wants—low and simple fares." With that explanation, Guenter Eser, Lufthansa's manager for North and Central America, unfurfed a fare package that may well touch off a new round of price cutting over the North Atlantic.

The West German carrier had already rejected a compromise fare proposal worked out this past summer in Montreal by other members of the International Air Transport Association. The proposal, which included special advance-purchase excursion (Apex) fares for passengers who buy their tickets three months ahead of departure, could not go into effect without Lufthansa's approval, since all such IATA decisions must be unanimous. Lufthansa, the only holdout, stalled past the final deadline last week, then announced its own, even lower round-trip fares between New York and Frankfurt. They are: ► A 14- to 45-day excursion fare of

\$210.

A 7- to 21-day fare of \$180 for groups of five or more who book through a travel agent.

► A \$195 youth fare for passengers aged 12 to 21.

A regular economy-class fare of \$420. The new fares, which will be slightly higher in the summer, are to take effect Feb. 1, 1972, when the present IATA agreement expires. As welcome as its prices is Lufthansa's decision to pare the bewildering array of 52 different fares between New York and Frankfurt down to eight.

It is high time for the airlines to do something to fill their half-empty seats, to meet fierce price competition from nonscheduled charter airlines and to pass monoscheduled charter airlines and to pass to the control of the charter airlines and to pass to the charter airlines are airlines and to pass to the charter airlines are airlines and agree on what should be done. Now they may hams's ked.

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GERMANY The Troubled Giant

The worst-kept secret in Germany was that the country's highest-paid manager would soon be out of a job. For months, German newspapers have been confidently predicting that the super-visory board of Volkswagen would vote this week not to renew the \$180,000-accepted to the work of the thing that the super-visor board of Chairman Kurt Lotz. Recent poor earnings, a shift in the balance of power on the board and Lotz's make his outser a certainty. Last week, to spare Volkswagen and himself further embarrassing publicity, Lotz, and the super-visor properties of the property of the properties of the prope

been fired. He is expected to be replaced by Rudolf Lieding, 56, former head of VW's Brazilian operations and now chairman of the Audi-NSU Auto Union subsidiary.

Lotz's leadership style began to irritate board members almost from the day he took over from the late Heinrich Nordhoff in 1968. A former Luftwaffe staff officer, Lotz pushed aside executives who did not agree with him, often ignored the counsel of those more expert than he, and ruled the company with an iron-hand brake. The conservative VW board usually went along with him. But in the past two years Social Democrats have replaced Christian Democrats in the governments of both the Federal Republic and Lower Saxony, where Volkswagen is headquartered. The new governments, which together own 36% of Volkswagen stock, placed four of their men on the board and tipped the balance of power to the liberal anti-Lotz faction.

Profit Fode, Lotz's ultimate undoing, however, was what he was doing to the balance sheet. Volkswagen profits are expected to drop substantially this year—to \$24 million or a mere ½% of volume, according to figures widely quoted in the German press—from \$56 million last year and \$98 million the year before.

There were many reasons behind Volkswagen's fading profits. The rising costs of labor and materials added \$150 million to the company's expenses in 1970. In addition, the 1969 revaluation of the Deutsche Mark cost the company \$70 million last year. And this year the Nixon surcharge on imports has raised the U.S. price of the basic Volkswagen 111 from \$1.890 to \$1.978.



KURT LOTZ A shift in power.

Much of Volkswagen's trouble is due to its dependence on the export market for two-thirds of its German production, and on the U.S. alone for one-third of it. Japanese small cars have begun to outsell Volkswagens in Norway, Finland and Switzerland, and are fast closing in on VW in the U.S. In addition, the anti-Beetle cars introduced by Detroit last year-Ford's Pinto, Chevrolet's Vega and A.M.C.'s Gremlin—are selling well among potential Volkswagen customers. The box score for U.S. minicar sales during the first eight months of this year and last year:

	1970	1971
Volkswagen	392,697	388,315
Toyota	120,274	200,894
Datsun	55,193	135,141
Pinto	_	221,642
Vega	_	211,267
Gremlin	20,544	46,230

25-Year Itch. Early in his reign, Lotz foresaw rough times ahead for the basic Beetle and set out to broaden the company's product base. But most of his new-look Volkswagens-like the lengthy 411 sedan, which critics say is called the 411 because it has four doors and came out eleven years too late -have been costly to produce or full of bugs. The front-engine K70 will lose \$30 million for the company this year. Some 200,000 of the new VW 1302 Super Beetles have had to be recalled be-

cause of a variety of faults.

VW men generally agree with Lotz that the company needs a wider range of products. After turning out the same basic car for 25 years, Volkswagen chiefs have begun to worry that the bug may be losing its appeal. Indeed, in its September issue. Consumer Reports gives the Volkswagen lower marks in comfort and performance than several of its small-car competitors, including Toyota and Datsun. The VW and similar imports face serious technical problems in trying to meet U.S. safety standards for 1976. And Ralph Nader's Center for Auto Safety last week issued a 200page report charging that the Beetle "is the most hazardous car in use in significant numbers in the U.S.," citing accident statistics compiled by the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, the New York Department of Motor Vehicles, the Garden State Parkway Authority and the Massachusetts Registry of Motor Vehicles. The report recommended that all Beetles be recalled for safety improvements and that all VW Microbuses be taken out of service.

AUTO SAFETY

The Great Air-Bag Debate

Each year, about 54,000 Americans die in auto accidents, and another 2,000,-000 suffer disabling injuries. Safety belts and shoulder harnesses would help reduce the carnage, if motorists wore them. According to Government surveys, only 30% of riders buckle into the belts.



RUNNING A SAFETY TEST Ford has a better idea.

and a mere 5% use the harnesses. To protect people more effectively, the Department of Transportation has ordered that all 1974 model cars be equipped with some kind of passive restraint, which in effect means "air bags" huge porous plastic bags that must pop out like balloons between motorist and instrument panel. They must inflate within forty-thousandths of a second after automatic sensors detect a collision, and then quickly deflate. In theory, at least, such a system could save at least 40% of the lives now lost in head-on crashes.

Last week officers of Ford, Chrysler and American Motors, plus a group of foreign manufacturers, unanimously insisted that the theory needs revision. They asked a federal district court in Cincinnati to set aside the 1974 standard on the grounds that it is ill-conceived, inadequately researched and unrealistic. The biggest problem is time. The automakers contend that since air bags are not vet perfected, they cannot be installed by the deadline. Reflecting this, production lines for 1974 models have already been prepared-minus

air bags. Chance of Accident. Leading the opposition are the executives of Ford, who say that they have a better idea, a system whereby a car would not start unless seat belts were fastened. Ford has taken ads to denounce, among other things, an outright danger for children sitting on their parents' laps or kneel-ing on the floor. Ford cites Governmentsponsored tests at Wayne State University in which baboons simulating such positions were more often than not injured by the force of the air bags' sudden inflation. Says a Ford safety expert: "The moment an accident materializes, a person usually panics and hits the brakes. This throws him against the exploding air bag, which knocks hell out of the guy.

The automakers argue that the air cushions might be as dangerous as actual crashes. American Motors officials fear that the giant pillows might inflate unpredictably in the driver's face, perhaps because of defective sensors. Ernst Fiala, Volkswagen's worldwide research director, worries about changes in air pressure and the shock factor inside small cars after the bags suddenly expand. "When you're firing four large air bags, you can reasonably expect that the car will be a wreck." warns, "The scheme is safety overkill." Moreover, Government tests show that when air bags explode into shape, the noise (170 decibels) could permanently deafen some motorists. Chrysler officials, going farthest of all, have bluntly informed Douglas Toms, director of the Transportation Department's enforcement agency, that they will simply not install the bags but instead will "pursue our suit in federal court."

More Time, Toms, smoldering at the rebellion, points out that "the air bags are two or three times better than anything else." Adds a high Transportation Department official: "The industry can meet the 1974 model deadline if it really wants to. Money really seems to be the problem." The bags will add an estimated \$150 to the price of a car.

General Motors has mainly stayed out of the debate. In Washington, G.M.'s present silence is taken to indicate a tacit acceptance of the air-bag scheme. Nonetheless last week's court action will probably serve as a safety cushion between the other recalcitrant automakers and the insistent Transportation Department. The automakers will eventually install air bags, which seem to be the most sensible safety device vet proposed, but they clearly need more time to perfect the bags. Twice before. the deadlines for installing air bags in cars have been postponed. Another delay now seems likely.

MILLIONAIRES

Playboy Goes Public

Ever since Playboy invented its formula of sex and pop hedonism in the 1950s, moneymen have wondered just how much cash the magazine and its many offshoots have earned for Hugh Hefner. The answer came last week as Playboy Enterprises, Inc. prepared to make its first public stock offering and filed required financial statements with the Securities and Exchange Commission. The underwriter, Loeb, Rhoades & Co., set a "maximum offering price" of \$25, meaning that the stock will probably go on the market in November for that amount or slightly less. If it is close to \$25, Playboy's creator and chief stockholder will have a paper worth of about \$168 million. That makes Hefner, at 45, one of the half a dozen or so richest self-made men in America

Menowhile, of the Monston, Of the L159-562 shares that Playbey Enterprises plans to sell, 300,000 come from Hefner's personal portfolio. He will still retain some 6,700,000 shares or 71.9% of the total. The tiny 11½ annual dividend on each share provides man, president, cellor and publisher, and the share share share the contract of the share provides of the share of the share provides of the

activities."

The prospectus shows that Playhov is still the most profitable part of Hefner's expanding empire. The magazine accounted for more than half the corporation's \$132 million revenue last year, and for most of its \$9,200,000 net income. Playboy Enterprises' other divisions are not doing nearly so well. Pretax profits from the 17 key clubs dropped slightly last year from \$3,400,-000 to \$3,200,000. The company's hotel operations dipped into the red and showed a loss of \$1,700,000 in 1970; a \$2,200,000 deficit at the Playboy Plaza in Miami more than offset profits from the company's other resort hotels. Hefner's newest venture, a plush resort hotel in northern New Jersey 50 miles from downtown New York, is scheduled to be completed in December. Its cost, originally estimated at \$21 million, is now figured in the Playboy prospectus at \$29.5 million.

The high costs of the New Jersey resort have not slowed Heffene down. His company started a music-publishing and phonograph-record division last month. Hefner has also plowed more than 32,000,000 into financing Director Roman Polanski's film version of Macbeth, and is looking for other movies to bankroll. Next year Playboy will go international, starting European editions in French, Italian and German under the guidance of Playboy executive and long-



HUGH HEFNER IN LONDON
Pop hedonism for Europe.

TIME Staffer Michael Demarest. About two-thirds of the material and most of the nudes will be from the U.S. Playboy, although Hefner says that he intends to tap European talent as well.

ORGANIZATIONS The White-Collar Ape

Man has come a long way since he abandoned the jungle and the loincloth for the office and the necktie. Today modern management science has supplanted instinct as a guide for decision making, and the corporation has replaced the tribe. Or so it seems.

Antony Jay, a British management consultant and former BBC producer, thinks that the distance between the tribal councils of Kalahari bushmen and the inner circles of IBM is not all that great. In a book to be published next month, Corporation Man (Random House; \$7.95), Jay argues that modern business firms are organized on the same basis as aboriginal tribes. Furthermore, the behavior of corporate executives springs not so much from reason as from animal-like, prehistoric instincts. As in Management and Machiavelli, a 1968 book in which Jay compared the corporation to a nation-state, he has done little scientific research to support his bizarre contentions. But in Corporation Man he supplies some witty recollections from his days at the BBC and in the army, and tosses in a few unorthodox anthropological insights. Among Jay's observations:

THE HUNTING BAND. The keystone of the tribe was the hunting band of ten or so men who went out foraging for food;

the heart of the modern corporation is usually a similar group of ten or so employees who form naturally into a ruling circle and are broadly charged with ensuring the firm's long-term survival.

THE CAMP. Employees who are not making or selling the product that brings in the money are nonhunting tribal members who mind the campsite. The camp may embrace departments like finance, planning, personnel, maintenance and public relations. "What the corporations hunters find absolutely intolerable." Jay says, "is the squaw-men in the camp satring to behave as if they were as important to the planning that the planning the men who go out and kill the game."

is more agressive than a tribe with a large number of female members, and thus more prone to bring about the collapse of a corporation's tribal structure—namely, a strike. The longest and bitterest strikes involve the all-male tribes in mines, doeks and factories, whereas strikes of female-dominated white-collar tribes are milder.

TEREITORIALITY. Some species of animals, including tribal man, stake out their own territories and repulse any intruder, whether there is any real threat of danger or not; managers and union officials tend to hit out automatically, and often irrationally, at any infringement, real or imaginary, on their responsibilities or prerogatives.

STATUS. Though many companies officially discourage the pursuit of status, elaborate hierarchies of status symbols tend to spring up automatically. "There is the secretary," Jay notes, "ranging from access to the pool through a secretary in your office, then a secretary in a separate office, to two secretaries and finally an assistant with her own secretary." He ranks the quality and magnitude of rubber plants, carpets, washrooms, stationery and cars as important symbols. According to Jay, status hierarchies are found throughout the animal kingdom and serve as indicators of worth when the real indices-such as in the case of man, salaries or organization charts-are not visible.

FOLKLORE. In the same way tribes build up legends about formidable hunters and battles, corporations develop their own folklore. Stories of idiosyneratic bosses and financial disasters "circulate with rich embroidery," Jay says, and form a cultural bond among employees who otherwise have little in common.

BINALIZED AGORESSION. Warring groups of animals and birds often make a great show of bellowing and pulling up clumps of grass in front of each other, rather than actually fighting. Executives of competing corporations engage the same kind of fitualized aggression when they choose to do battle through advertising, packaging and other first, but the same than the sa

New Issue / September 16, 1971

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ENVIRONMENT

Return of the Phosphates

The surprise announcement was made last week by four key federal agencies -the Environmental Protection Agency, Public Health Service, Food and Drug Administration and Council on Environmental Quality-and was best summarized by U.S. Surgeon General Jesse L. Steinfeld: "My advice to the housewife at this time is to use a phosphate detergent."

Dangerous Compounds. If the housewife is confused by that advice, she has good reason. For several years, various federal agencies have joined ecologists in stressing that phosphates can cause grave environmental damage. Pouring in a sudsy torrent from washing machines, detergents now account for about half of the growing amount of phosphates in U.S. waters. By overfertilizing algae and other plant life, phosphates start a process that depletes the oxygen supply in the water and eventually results in the eutrophication, or "death," of lakes and ponds. To counter that expanding threat to the nation's waters, four states and several counties and cities have either banned or begun phasing out the use of phosphate-bearing detergents. Manufacturers, under Government pressure, have reduced the phosphate content of their detergents or substituted other chemicals designed to produce a clean, white

Those substitutes, unfortunately, seem to be more dangerous than phosphates. One of the chemicals, nitrilotriacetic acid (NTA), was substituted because it cleans well and usually decomposes soon after use. But it has been found to combine with heavy metals like mercury and cadmium in drinking-water supplies, producing chemical compounds that have been linked to birth defects in animals. Thus the compounds may affect human beings as well. At the Surgeon General's request last year, manufacturers re-

moved NTA detergents from the market. The other class of widely used phosphate substitutes-caustic alkaline chemicals—can be dangerous if inhaled, swallowed or brought in contact with the eyes. The fact that small children often swallow household cleaning agents increases the threat. Last year alone, 3,900 such poisonings were reported, and last month a 15-month-old Connecticut girl died from eating a nonphosphate detergent. Says an EPA official: "When you weigh the death of a child against the possible death of a lake, there's no choice. The human health factor has to outweigh any environmental damage."

Officials urged that, until better substitutes for phosphates are found, federal and local governments build new

sewage-treatment plants and modify existing ones to separate phosphates and keep them from fouling fresh waters. William Ruckelshaus, EPA's administrator, estimates that Washington's share in financing such facilities would total up to \$500 million each year. That low estimate is probably realistic; the addition of an inexpensive chemical like lime or alum to even simple sewagetreatment systems will remove phosphates effectively. Furthermore, EPA officials say, the need for such plants is not universal; only 15% of the U.S.'s communities are near lakes in which the detergents in sewage are causing significant ecological harm.

Consumer's Lap. The new federal detergent policy immediately ran into heavy congressional criticism. Wisconsin Representative Henry Reuss charged that the Administration had "capitulated to the soap and detergent makers" by advocating a return to phosphates. Sen-ator Edmund Muskie attacked the decision as "poor public policy" because it offered no real solutions. Instead. Muskie said, it "simply dumps the phos-phate problem in the consumer's lap and puts considerable burden on local communities without stipulating that the manufacturers come up with a safe, environmentally clean alternative. At week's end, as confusion mounted, most of the states, counties and cities that have passed laws against the sale and use of phosphate-bearing detergents seemed determined to let the ban stand.



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TREATED & UNTREATED CORN Some farmers quailed.

The Value of Sludge

Day after day, residents and industries in the Chicago area flush 1.5 billion gallons of raw wastes into the city's sewers -out of sight and mind. The flushings become the metropolitan sanitary district's Sisyphean task; the engineers must not only treat the ceaseless torrents of raw sewage but also find some place to put the day's residues-and space for such byproducts is limited. Yet Chicago now seems to have solved the dilemma with such practical and ecological wisdom that its program may well become a model for other cities while incidentally and fortuitously reclaiming some of the U.S.'s most ravaged land.

Despised Origins, Like several other cities, Chicago purifies sewage with a combination of mechanical and chemical processes. One product is clean water. The other is "sludge," a black goo that smalls like tar and has the consistency of pea soup. The sanitary district's problem has been what to do with sludge, he has been what to do with sludge, he has been what to do with the sludge. In the past, Chicago sold tons error as fertilizer, But drying the waste caused massive amounts of air pollution and was expensive (559 a 10n).

Trying to use it undried to fertilize farms in nearly Kankake County proved a flop, because sanitation men ran up against a basic American prejran up against a basic American prejbesitated to use animal manure, they qualled at the thought of sludge, which is basically purified human manure. Pultic outery effectively banned sludge from the county. In desperation, the sanitary district dumped the gost into manufactories district dumped the gost into manufactories fore into 450 acres of the potentially best industrial land around Chicago.

As the lagoons slowly filled, district

engineers, aided by technicians from the University of Illinois, tested sludge in demonstration projects. The results were startling. The soupy product was easy to spray where needed with standard irrigation equipment and did not smell bad -both distinct advantages over animal manure. Better yet, used as a soil nutrient, it caused clay and even silicate sand to bloom. Still, nobody wanted sludge because of its despised origins. "We flew thousands of miles looking for people to take it," says Ben Sosewitz, general superintendent of the district. "Some people laughed at us. Though we had developed economical, beneficial methods of disposal, we were always frustrated by lack of public acceptance.

A year ago, officials from downstate Fulion County heard about studge's marvels and thought it might help solve their major problem. Blessed with abundant reserves of coal, the county was 2,500 acres of 10 pool was peoled back, the coal gouged out, and the land rendered unfit for any use but as poor pasturage. In total, 40,000 acres of Fulton County had been ripped and sacred we completely that any though we completely that any their problems are sufficiently and the same of the land's district like some of the land's problems.

Goo Spray, District officials did not need to be asked twice. After buying 7,000 acres, they set up a small test project, "It was amazing," says Bart T. Lyman, chief of maintenance and operations. "Corn planted on three acres of land treated with sludge grew eight feet tall. By comparison, the stalks on two acres of untreated land were stunted, only three feet high."

Barges now carry the sludge down the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal to Fulton County where it is stored in buge reservoirs. Next spring the goo will be sludge works as well as anticipated, the acreage will return to productivity, and the district expects to lease it for recreation and farming (corn, syspeans, hay). No air or water pollution attends the pro-

Eventually the sanitary district expects to buy up to 50,000 acres of stripped land—enough to use all the sludge Chicago can produce. Since the U.S. already contains about 2,000,000 acres of similarly ruined land, lowly sewage may yet turn out to be a prized commodity, the salvation of landscapes of desolation.

Penthouses for the Poor

Although about 2,000,000 of Mexico City's 9,000,000 inhabitants live in squalor, one out of every four of them has risen above the crime, noise and fifth of street shantles. They occupy, with the build on the flat roots of solid buildings. While these penthouse poor prefer the roofs of small, low structures (where limited space holds fewer families and gives greater privacy), they gladly share the tops of taller buildings with each other, humming elevator equipment, water tanks and thickets of TV antennae.

This sensible use of empty real estate began back in colonial times, when employers billeted their domestic servants within easy beck or call in rooftop rooms. Nowadays the servants are joined by laundresses, window washers and security guards who exchange work for living space; other Mexicans pay up to \$12 a month for a niche on a roof. The amenites, while sparse, usually includer running water, electricity and enough room for a dog, a cat or a few chickens.

To be sure, the "stands in the sky" have drawbacks. For one, children must be constantly watched lest they play too close to the building's edge. For another, rooftop residents so prize their quarters that even when sick or poverty-stands the trend when sick or poverty-stands the services from the government. They fear that they would get landfords in trouble by calling attention to their unauthorized to the stands of the stands of the stands of the size would object if they heard of disease in the hovels above them.

Only the dwellers in other high buildings seem dismayed by the arrangement. Paying steep prices for their own apartments, they often discover that they look into a high-rise slum rather than over the grandeur of Mexico City.



ROOFTOP SCENE IN MEXICO CITY High go the hovels.

BOOKS

The Man Without

A SORT OF LIFE by Graham Greene. 220 pages. Simon & Schuster. \$6.95.

Even the title is pure Greene: lowkey, self-deprecating, perfectly descriptive. Indeed, readers hoping for massive disclosures about the author's marriage, love life, experience of miracles, abortive World War II spy career, trip to a leper colony, et al., had best go back again to the novels. This brief autobiographical fragment ends in 1931. Greene was 27 years old at the time. and about to face a decade of relative failure following his early hit with a book called The Man Within. As he writes somewhat archly in the preface, more or less explaining why he stops where he does: "Failure, too, is a kind of death

Few writers have been so successfully failure-haunted as Greene himself. No novelist, either, has grown so rich or so critically secure by dramatizing spiritual insecurity. A Sort of Life has considerable shortcomings. Yet it makes overwhelmingly clear how Greene the child became creative father to Greene the writer-and to that tortured crew of characters whose rueful collective motto might well read: "With God for a friend, you don't need an enemy.

Russian Roulette, "The first thing I remember," Greene begins, "is sitting in a pram at the top of a hill with a dead dog lying at my feet." He soon progresses from such minishocks to a brief near-caricature of the English literary boyhood-that beautiful, remote mother, for instance, not to mention the wretched loneliness and the usual hatred of the cruel school. In Greene's case, the problem was quadrupled because his Church of England father was headmaster of the Berkhamsted School, where Greene went, and that, he recalls, made him feel like a perpetual "Quisling." By his own account he was surrounded by a busy, broadgauged, reasonably happy upper-middleclass family life. Yet he seems to have been born-and long remained-constitutionally terrified of a remarkable number of things: of bleeding, drowning and burning, even of moths and horses. Disarmingly, he later also admits that even now he never starts any book without acute fear that he will be unable to finish it.

It is but a step to another sad preoccupation. "Successful suicide. Greene writes, "is often a cry for help that has not been heard in time." With some slight prurience, he describes his schoolboy attempts to cut a vein in his leg, swallow deadly nightshade berries. handfuls of aspirin and, finally, a draft of darkroom hypo-all with no serious results. But when he ran away from school at age 16, his father sent him down to London in 1920 to be psy-

choanalyzed. The six-month period of analysis. Greene revealingly admits, was the most peacefully pleasant time of his life, along with a brief, comfortable, post-Oxford stint as a sub-editor of the London Times. (When he left the Times in 1929 to try a full-time career in fiction, the editors were deeply distressed, not only because of Greene's quality, but because he was the only sub-editor within memory who had ever left the paper voluntarily.)

After describing how he was psychiatrically shriven of fear, at least for the time being. Greene quotes Dr. Freud: "Much is won if we succeed in trans-



GRAHAM GREENE, AGE 11 A splinter of ice in the heart.

forming hysterical misery into common unhappiness," Alas, the post-couch Greene found himself afflicted with what he describes as a lifelong case of crushing boredom. Antidotes have included staving more or less drunk during his whole first year at Oxford, as well as a famous incident-described in an earlier literary collection and incorporated almost verbatim into this book-about playing Russian roulette with his brother's revolver. After six attempts. Greene insists he gave up the game, all passion spent. Yet the need to take revolving risks, he adds, was to send him on repeated world travels.

Spiritual Hypochondria, Greene's first published novel, The Man Within, created an archetypal Greene character. the divided man, naturally weak and selfdramatizing, whose other self heavily corrects toward courage and understate-

ment. In A Sort of Life, Greene suggests that this split personality runs through his whole family. It certainly shows in the book. But what provides fascinating ambiguity in fiction is merely troublesome in personal autobiog-raphy. Despite his deliberately quiet voice, there is something unconvincingly stagy about Greene's spiritual hypochondria, and about his insistence on the personal angst and failure that he has endured. It is almost as if, like many of his characters, he believes that worldly failure is a sign of God's grace and is trying to impress Someone other than the

Paradoxically, as an autobiographer Greene is better at emotional reticence than at revelation. Without much discussion he mentions that he has been deeply influenced by dreams. He keeps a dream diary and simply asserts that on several occasions in dreams he has witnessed events-including a specific ship sinking in the Irish Sea-which. he later learned, occurred at the moment he was dreaming them. He barely mentions his marriage to a Catholic girl named Vivien Dayrell-Browning, except as the events affected his need to find both work and religion. Greene's conversion to Catholicism began at age 22. In discussing it he is the soul of brevity. To begin with, he did not believe in God at all. He took instruction from a former actor turned priest-part of whose penance was abstinence from theatrical productions. Philosophic proofs and arguments had little effect on him. but suddenly he found himself able to believe. After that Greene says, saying it all, nothing in the world "could seem impossible.

Tunes for Bears. Except perhaps for writing, a craft and a calling at which Greene is past and present master. His brief notes and perceptions about his own literary influences and evolutions are among the best things in the book. Greene presents again those perfectly precise and unkittenish notations about the influence of Charlotte M. Yonge on The Ministry of Fear, those traces of Beatrix Potter's Tale of Tom Kitten on Brighton Rock. He gets closest to the heart of the matter when he describes how, briefly confined to a hospital for an appendectomy, his young writer's curiosity overcame both a gentleman's squeamishness and a man's compassion, as he eavesdropped on the agonies of a woman whose child has just died in a nearby bed, "There is a splinter of ice in the heart of a writer. comments Greene, also noting that the mother's genuine grief came out only in women's magazine clichés. Then he quotes Flaubert: "Human language is like a cracked kettle on which we heat out tunes for bears to dance to, when all the time we are longing to move the stars to pity."

It is only against that kind of aspiration that Graham Greene's sense of his own failure seems acceptable.

Timothy Foote



Increasingly, U. S. business is going abroad and discovering how foreign demand can contribute to total corporate profits. For stockholders, this as made many an annual report considerably more cheering. The fact is that among 154 major U. S. corporations doing business outside the U. S. last year, foreign earnings were on the average 27% greater than domestic.

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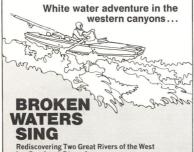
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ELITTLE, BROWN

Condemnation Proceedings

THE TENANTS by Bernard Malamud. 230 pages, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$6.95. "Home is where my book is," thinks

36-year-old Harry Lesser as he hotfoots it back to his bachelor apartment in a decaying New York City tenement. There, for the past ten years, Lesser has been working on his third novel. His first was a success, his second kissed off as evidence of sophomore slump. The new novel, entitled The Promised End, is about a writer who cannot love generously. "Love up to a point," Less-

er writes, "is no love at all. But he finds himself curiously unable to finish the book. Like that of his own fictional character, Lesser's isolated life bucks the very love he is trying to imagine on paper. Holed up in his selfmade prison, he writes, munches apples and turns a deaf ear to Levenspiel, the landlord who wants to get him out so the structure can be replaced by a new six-story apartment building, Lesser is the last tenant, a holdout protected from eviction by a maze of city regulations. Using the world's red tape to keep the world at bay is Lesser's way

White to Black. Willie Spearmint is also a writer, though his ways are more direct. Black, consumed by the reality of his color. Spearmint takes over an abandoned apartment in the building and begins to cut out steaming hunks of black experience on an antique L.C. Smith. "Man, can't you see me writing on my book?" he growls when Lesser first appears. Lesser tries to be helpful -white to black, writer to writer, man to man. He keeps Spearmint's typewriter safe from night-crawling junkies. He buys the black writer a few sticks of furniture. There are parties with Spearmint's friends and white mistress, Irene.

The situation is primed for disaster, not by urban sociology or racial tensions, but because human needs lead to confusion and tragedy. When Lesser tells him that his writing lacks form, Spearmint furiously rejects the criticism as an attack on black art. When Lesser says that he and Irene have fallen in love, Spearmint assaults a flaking wall with his head and moans, "I forgot to go on hating you." Later he burns Lesser's unfinished manuscript and writes graffiti with its ashes: REVOLUTION IS THE REAL ART. NONE OF THAT FORM SHIT, I AM THE RIGHT FORM,

When Lesser and Spearmint have a showdown, with hatchet and saber respectively, the abandoned tenement is transformed into a hallucination of a jungle battleground. The realistic props that Malamud has so expertly designed are vanked away, and the two writers assume the proportions of brutal historical forces. Significant blows are struck. White buries his weapon in black's brain. Black directs a castrating swipe at white's sexuality. Malamud himself brings the curtain down with the brooding thought that at the moment of ritual bloodletting each felt the anguish of the other. It is as uncertain an affirmation as Malamud has ever written. In past stories and novels such as The Assistant, A New Life, The Fixer, suffering usu-ally stretched a character's awareness of life's tragic limitations. In The Tenant, men hack blindly at each other's flesh, and the author labors to discern some faint compassion in the violence. Like Lesser, Malamud too has had trouble finishing his book. The difficulty is underscored by an epilogue in which Levenspiel, the landlord whom circumstance has also made a victim of the combat, sets up a liturgical cry for mercy. In effect it is an unanswered cry for a release from history.

The Tenant is not really a novel (or parable), but a bleak, relentless vision. It is full of that blend of realism and fantasy, comedy and pathos that distinguishes Malamud as one of America's best writers. That it does not end with a warm rush of saving compassion indicates that he is one of America's most honest writers as well.

R.Z. Sheppard

Dr. Reuben's Mixture

ANY WOMAN CAN! by David Reuben, M.D. 364 pages, McKay, \$7,95

David Reuben, M.D., the California psychiatrist, boyish authority symbol and author of Everything You Always Wanted to know About Sex . . . etc., continues to practice writing without a license. Like EYAWTKAS, his latest effort is an ask-the-answerman approach to sex education and social adjustment. Pound for pound and dollar for dollar, the first book provided a lot more incontestable information, Any Woman Can! makes sense mostly as an overpriced, over-thecounter nostrum marketed to exploit whatever Women's Lib awareness has spread to the nation's largest day-to-day purchasing-power bloc-white, middle-

class, heterosexual females. Dubious Advice. Reuben employs his familiar casual covness, strained informality, unconvincing case histories and weak jokes. There is also some sloppy scholarship and an occasional piece of dubious advice. For example, he gleefully quotes "a veteran police officer" who advises women threatened with imminent rape to take the assailant's testicles in one hand and smash them with the other. In his conflicting role as women's liberator and amiable guardian of traditional femininity, Reuben asks: "Should a woman really do something as terrible as that?" Naturally, the good liberal doctor would not want to be responsible for the violent consequences of an unsure grip or poor aim directed at a moving target. His copout answer: "It's up to her. Being raped can be pretty terrible, too.

Granted, Reuben is not a karate expert. But even his science is distorted to bolster his image as an honorary member of the Sisterhood. "Every human Those "free" credit cards buy ski boots. The American Express Money Card buys St. Moritz.



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DR. REUBEN & FAMILY
Trying to shimmy, like Sister Kate.

embryo sunts out as female." Reuben asserts. It is the same nonsense fobbed off by Kate Millett (Sexual Politics, page 30), who claimed as her some not a geneticist but a woman psychonalyst. The fallacious reasoning between start out without male gentialia, they are physically female. The fact is that sees is determined at the moment of fertilization by the combination by the combination of the combination of

Happily. Reuben does not often tangle with anything so complex as high school zoology. Mostly he cheerleads for more and better female orgasms: "The female capacity for orgasm is so great that it has never been fully measured."

Patent Medicines. In subsequent chapters, Dr. Reuben sensibly relates sexual pleasure to higher erogenous zones like the brain. But generally he is too busy trying to shimmy, like Sister Kate, to rhythms established by Masters and Johnson. His chapters on how to catch and hold a man are out of the dark ages of the women's magazines. Where else could one find such statements as "selecting a husband is the most urgent and critical decision a woman will make in her lifetime," or his description of dedicated bachelors as "always charming, always engaging, but regrettably never charmed and never engaged.

There is little doubt that Reuben is as concerned with maximizing human happiness as he is with formulating another besteller. His basic premies is that "every modern woman is entitled to enjoy the greatest sensory experiences." Yet he seems to have little appreciation of the incredible variety and uniqueness of life. While he consistently states that a woman should make up her own mind about

how to satisfy her sexual appetites, he is practically Mosaic in insisting that the best place to do it is through a monogamous, heterosexual marriage. But then how does a woman make the most of her unmeasured capacity for organsm with only one man? At this point Reuben suggests settling for quality, not quantity. Such advice, like most patent medicines, is perfectly O.K. as long as the patient is reasonably healthy. But if pain persists, better see a physician.

= R.Z.S.

Respectfully Submitted

BOOKS DO FURNISH A ROOM by Anthony Powell. 241 pages. Little, Brown. \$5.95.

Minutes of the biannual meeting of the Anthony Powell Club:

The occasion was the publication of Books Do Furnish a Room, the tenth in the master's projected twelve-volume series, A Dance to the Music of Time. After the induction of new members, the chairman noted that our rolls were moderate in England and small in America, but growing. A motion was defeated to lower the entrance requirement from a close reading of six volumes in the series to a close reading of three. During the discussion it was pointed out that the series so far had covered a span of more than three decades of English life and that the Characters Committee had annotated no less than 300 characters and was still going strong.

An American member questioned whether Powell readers should be a club at all, observing that it was snobbish and tended to make us take the master too seriously. He complained of comparisons to Proust. The Chairman ruled him out of order, saying that Powell was a clubbish sort of writer, and that anyway we were all too addicted to consider whether this was a good thing. [Applause.l A dissident vounger group demanded a debate on the proposition that The Music of Time was altogether too cultivated and leisurely, neither as trenchantly funny as Evelyn Waugh nor as morally serious as Graham Greene. They were shouted down.

There was one announcement—the party for the master's 66th birthday in December will be held in a replica of Dicky Umfraville's nightclub in At Lady Molly's, after which the literary director read his report on the new novel.

"With Books Do Furnish a Room, Dwell's roam fleure moves on from its warine trilegy to chronicle the filful resurgence of normal life in drabpostwar England. Old members will appointed. One again the narrafor is Nick Jenkins, out of the army and back in London as literary editor of a new little magazine. Once again the pol proceeds not so much by incidents —a funeral, a literary cocktail party —characters bot up from the past, in-—funeral, a literary cocktail party termingle, realign themselves and caper offined as they pass, the inexhaustibly observant Nick murmurs his commentary with a rueful smile. All rather contrived, perhaps, but as Powell has one of his characters say: 'Human beings aren't subtle enough to play their part. That's where art comes in.

Two of the major parts are played by familiar figures from previous volumes. Kenneth Widmerpool, who epitomizes all that is obnoxious and pathetic in people who get ahead in the world, is now M.P. His newly acquired wife is the fabled Pamela Flitton, as bitchy and beautiful as she is promiscuous, Widmerpool is backing Nick's magazine and its editor, a furtive, bibulous literary hack known in the trade as Books-Do-Furnish-a-Room Bagshaw. Pamela is backing a gifted, eccentric writer in the magazine's stable, X. Trapnel, to the extent that she leaves Widmerpool and moves in with him. Ultimately she destroys him and returns to Widmerpool, while the intrigues surrounding the liaison cost Bagshaw his job.

"In the background, Nick works at a book about Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. In Powell, no such detail is ever incidental, and indeed, most of this novel's characters are pervaded by melancholy—in a Burtonian seme of the word—being in the grip of some dishing passion such as sorrow, fear or especially love. Powell's intricate music is cleaned to the property of the property o

The meeting was adjourned. Members retired to the lounge for port, but the dissidents created a ruckus in the library, cackling and hooting over some novels by Waugh.

■ Christopher Porterfield

Rest Sellers

- FICTION

 1. The Exorcist, Blatty (1 last week)

 2. The Other, Tryon (2)
 - 3. The Day of the Jackal, Forsyth (3)
 - 4. The Shadow of the Lynx, Holt (4) 5. The Drifters, Michener (6)
 - 6. The Bell Jor, Plath (5)
 7. The New Centurions, Wambaugh (7)
 - 8. QB VII, Uris (9) 9. Penmarric, Howatch (10) 10. The Passions of the Mind, Stone (8)
 - NONFICTION

 1. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee,
 - Brown (1)
 2. The Female Eunuch, Greer (6)
 - The Female Eunuch, Greer (6)
 The Gift Horse, Kncf (4)
 The Sensuous Man, "M" (2)
 - 5. Do You Sincerely Want To Be Rich? Raw, Page and Hodgson (8)
 - America, Inc., Mintz and Cohen (3)
 Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago,
 Royko (9)
 - 8. The Ra Expeditions, Heyerdahl (5) 9. Living Well Is the Best Revenge, Tomkins (10)
 - Wanda Hickey's Night of Golden
 Memories and Other Disasters,
 Shepherd

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Dozens of people saw this bank robber. Only Du Pont could remember exactly what he looked like.

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One reason is the automatic cameras you see in so many banks. One of them took the picture above.

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e av. per cigarette, FTC Report Nov. '70